

JULIAN.  
OR,  
A DISCOURSE  
Concerning the  
EARTHQUAKE  
AND  
FIREFY ERUPTION,

Which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild  
the Temple at Jerusalem.

IN WHICH

The reality of a divine Interposition is shewn;  
The Objections to it are answered;

AND

The nature of that Evidence which demands the  
assent of every reasonable man to a *miraculous* fact, is considered and explained.

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*Nesciunt Necessaria, quia supervacanea dedicerunt.*  
SENECA.

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The SECOND EDITION, with Additions.

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LONDON,  
Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, in Ludgate-street,  
M DCC LI.



JULIAN  
A DISCOURSE  
ON THE  
EARLY THOUGHTS  
AND  
FIRE ERECTION

THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM

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# INTRODUCTION.

**A** sovereign contempt for the authority of the FATHERS, and no great reverence for any other, is what now-a-days makes a Protestant in fashion. But as I imagine Religion loses something, and Learning a great deal, by the neglect in which they lye at present, I should have been tempted to say a word or two in their behalf, even tho' the subject of the following sheets did not require that they, whose testimony I make some use of, should have their pretensions stated, and their character fairly examined. But what is here insinuated to the discredit of the *present* mode in Theology, is by no means said in favour of the *past*, but of *that* which good sense seems ready to place between them.

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THE authority of the FATHERS had now for many ages, been held *sacred*. These men, by taking the Greek Philosophers to their assistance in explaining the nature and genius of the Gospel, had unhappily turned Religion into an *art*; and their successors, the SCHOOLMEN, by framing a body of Theology out of Them, instead of searching for it in the Scriptures, soon after turned it into a *trade*. But (as in all affairs where Reason does not hold the balance) that which had been extravagantly advanced, was, on the turn of the times, as extravagantly undervalued. It may not therefore be amiss to acquaint the English Reader, in few words, how all this came to pass.

WHEN the avarice and ambition of the Romish clergy had, by working with the superstition and ignorance of the people, erected what they call their Hierarchy, and digested an ecclesiastical policy on the ruins of Gospel liberty for the administration of it, they found nothing of such use for the support of this spiritual system<sup>a</sup> as the mak-

<sup>a</sup> Comme l'autorité fait le fondement de cette étude [la Theologie] il est juste de deferer absolument non

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ing the authority of the Fathers sacred and decisive. For having introduced numerous errors and superstitions, both in Rites and Doctrine, which the *silence* and the *declarations* of Scripture equally condemned, they were obliged to seal up those living Oracles, and open this new warehouse of the Dead. And it was no wonder if, in that shoal of writers (as a poet of our own calls it) which the great drag-net of time hath inclosed and brought down to us, under the name of *Fathers*, there should be some amongst them of a character suited to countenance any kind of folly or extravagance. The decisions of the *Fathers*, therefore, they thought fit to treat as Laws; and to collect them into a kind of Code under the title of the *Sentences*.

FROM this time every thing was tried at the bar of the *Fathers*; and so unquestionable was their jurisdiction, that when the great defection was made from the *Church*

seulement à l'Ecriture sainte, mais encore aux sentimens des *Peres*, qui nous ont expliqué la tradition, sur tout à ceux que l'Eglise a canonisez, pour ainsi dire, par son approbation, ou en tout ou en partie. *Traité des études monastiques par Mabillon, p. 360.*

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of Rome, the Reformed, tho' they shook off the tyranny of the *Pope*, could not disengage themselves from the unbounded authority of the *Fathers*; but carried that prejudice with them, as they did some others, of a worse complexion, into the Protestant religion. For, in sacred matters, as Novelty is suspicious, and Antiquity venerable, they thought it for their credit to have the *Fathers* on their side. They seemed neither to consider Antiquity in general as a thing *relative*, nor Christian antiquity as a thing *positive*: either of which would have shewn them that the *Fathers* themselves were modern, compared to that authority on which the Reformed founded their Churches; and that the Gospel was that true antiquity on which all its followers should repose themselves<sup>b</sup>. The consequence of which

<sup>b</sup> The Roman Catholics have long objected to us the *Antiquity* of their Church, as one of its greatest supports. But none of them have been so ingenuous as the admirable author of *L'Esprit des Loix*, to point out to us wherein the force of this argument consists. L'antiquité (says he) convient à la Religion, parce que souvent nous croyons plus les choses à mesure qu'elles sont plus reculées: car nous n'avons pas dans la tête des

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error was, that, in the long appeal to Reason, between Protestants and Papists, both of them going on a common principle, of the decisive authority of the *Fathers*, the Latter were enabled to support their credit against all the evidence of common sense and sacred Scripture.

At length an excellent writer of the *Reformed* Religion, observing that the controversy was likely to be endless; for tho' the gross corruptions of Popery were certainly later than the third, fourth, and fifth Centuries, to which the appeal was usually made, yet the seeds of them being then sown, and beginning to pullulate, it was

*idées accessaires tirées de ces tems-là qui puissent les contredire. Vol. ii. p. 203. 8vo Ed.* Force we see it has. But then unluckily it lyes in the supposition of Popery's being a *false*, not a *true* Church. For, tho' *false* religion acquires an advantage from the oblivion of those discrediting circumstances which attended its original, and which time hath now deprived us of; yet *true* religion receives infinite damage from the same effects of time; because several circumstances, now lost, which accompanied its birth, must needs have greatly confirmed its character. For it is as much in nature that the circumstances attending truth should confirm it, as that the circumstances attending error should detect it.



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but too plain there was hold enough for a skilful Debater to draw the *Fathers* to his own side, and make them water the sprouts they had been planting: observing this, I say, he wisely projected to shift the ground and force the disputants to vary their method, both of attack and defence. In order to this he composed a discourse of the *true use of the Fathers*. In which, with admirable learning, and strength of argument, he shewed, that the Fathers were incompetent deciders of the controversies now on foot; since the points in question were not formed into articles till long after the ages in which they lived. This was bringing the *Fathers* from the bench to the table; degrading them from the rank of judges, into the class of simple evidence; in which, too, they were not to speak, like *Irish* evidence, in every cause where they were wanted, but only to such matters as were agreed to be within their competence. Had this learned critic stopped here, his book had been free from blame; but then in all likelihood his honest purpose had been rendered ineffectual: for the obliquity of old

De l'Emploi des Peres, par M. Daillé.

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prejudices is not to be set strait by just reducing it to that line of rectitude which barely restores it to integrity. He went much further : and by shewing, occasionally, that they were absurd interpreters of holy-writ ; that they were bad Reasoners in morals ; and very loose evidence in facts ; he seemed willing to have his Reader infer, that even tho' they had been masters of the subject, yet these other defects would have rendered them very unqualified Deciders.

HOWEVER the work of this famous Foreigner had great consequences : and especially with us here at home. The more learned amongst the Nobility (which, at that time, was of the Republic of letters) were the first who emancipated themselves from the general prejudice. It brought the excellent Lord *Faulkland* to think moderately of the Fathers, and to turn his theological inquiries into a more useful channel. And his great rival in arts, and fellow Secretary, the famous Lord *Digby*, found it of such use to him, in his defence of the reformed Religion against his cousin Sir *Kenelm*, that he has even epitomised it, in his fine Letter on that subject. But, what it hath

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chiefly to boast of is, that it gave birth to the two best defences ever written, on the two best subjects, *Religion* and *Liberty*; I mean Mr. *Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants*, and Dr. *Jer. Taylor's Liberty of Prophecy*. In a word, it may be truly said to be the storehouse, from whence all who have since written popularly on the character of the *Fathers*, have derived their materials.

DR. *Whitby*, in whose way they fell as *Interpreters of Scripture*, hath, in imitation of the pattern *Daille* set him, made a large collection from their writings, to expose their talents for *Criticism*<sup>d</sup>. In the same manner, and in a larger volume, Mr. *Barbeyrac* afterwards treated their pretensions to the science of *Ethics*<sup>e</sup>: And now of late the very learned and ingenious Dr. *Middleton*, finding them in the support of *Monkish Miracles*, hath written as largely to prove their *Testimony* in matters of fact to be none of the clearest.

So that these several constituent parts of their character being thus taken up in their

<sup>d</sup> *Dissert. de S. S. interpretatione secund. Patres.*

<sup>e</sup> *La Morale des Peres, &c.*

turns ;



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turns ; and the whole order exposed as incompetent judges of Doctrine, as trifling Interpreters of Scripture, as bad Moralists, and as slippery Evidence ; it is no wonder the *English* reader, who only measures them by such representations, should be disposed to think very irreverently of these early Lights of the holy Catholic Church.

BUT, let us lay aside prejudice on either hand, and we shall see enough to persuade us, that disputers, who often have little more in view than to support a favourite charge, will not always be careful to preserve their candor. In the heat of a prosecution, proofs will be apt to be overstrained : but admit the facts to be fairly represented ; what considerate man will think himself able to form a true judgment of a character, when no more of it is laid before him than a collection of its blots and blemishes ?

THERE were always some indeed, till of late, who preserved their moderation (which, in matters where our interests are highly concerned, as in Religion and Politics, is not easy to do) and these were wont to say, " That tho' we should indeed suppose the

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Fathers to be as fanciful Divines, as bad Critics, and as unsafe Moralists, as *Daillé*, *Whitby*, and *Barbeyrac* are pleased to represent them, yet this would take nothing from the integrity of their Evidence: and what we want of them is only their Testimony to facts." But now, even this service is thought too much. The learned Author of the *Free Inquiry* seems unwilling to allow them this small remnant of credit: which he has certainly much hurt by exposing their excessive credulity in point of false Miracles<sup>f</sup>. But, controversy apart, their testimony to common facts may yet stand good. I see no reason why their veracity should be questioned when they bear witness to the state of Religion in their own times, because they disgraced their judgment, in giving ear to every strange tale of Monkish extraction. The most learned and virtuous Divine of the barbarous ages is the vener-

<sup>f</sup> " Videmus, quanto dignitatis detrimento hic error  
" credendi recipiendique omnia facilitas affecerit ex ec-  
" clesiasticis historiis nonnullas; quæ nimis faciles se  
" præbuerunt, in prodendis transcribendisque Miraculis,  
" à Martyribus, Eremitis, Anachoretis, et aliis sanctis  
" viris, atque ab eorum reliquiis, sepulcris, sacellis, ima-  
" ginibus editis." *Bacon de Aug. Scien.*

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able *Bede*; and the honestest as well as most discerning historian of those, or perhaps of any age, is *Matthew Paris*: yet their propensity to recount the wonderful exceeds all imagination. Neither learning, judgment, nor integrity could secure them against the general contagion. Now if this disposition was, in them (as is confessed) only the vice of the *times*, is it not unjust to ascribe the same disposition in the *Fathers*, to the vice of the *Men*?

BUT our folly has ever been, and is likely to continue, to judge of antiquity by a modern standard: when, if we would form reasonable ideas on this subject, we should compare the parts of it with one another. We examine the conceits of a *Basil* or an *Austin*, on the test of the improved reasoning of our own times. And we do well. It is the way to read them with profit. But when, from a contempt of their logic, which follows this comparison, we come to despise their other accomplishments of parts and learning, we betray gross ignorance or injustice. To know the true value of the *Fathers* we should place them by their contemporaries, the Pagan writers of greatest fame



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fame and reputation ; and if they suffer in their neighbourhood ; e'en let them stay, where most of them already are, with the Grocers. But it is a fact none acquainted with antiquity will deny, how great a secret foever modern Divines may make of it, that as polite scholars (and it is this which we now most affect to value) whether in eloquence, ethics, antiquity, or philosophy, the Christian writers have indisputably the first place. Nay, one may venture to say, there are some of them who have successfully rivaled the very best authors of antiquity. St. *Chrysostome* has more good sense than *Plato* ; and you may find in *Lactantius* almost as many good words as in *Tully*. So that if, on the principles of a classical taste, we discard the *Fathers*, we should discard along with them the *Pagan writers* of the same ages ; unless the wonderful Theology of the Latter can atone for (what they both have in common) their false rhetoric and bad reasoning.

THESE imperfections, therefore, being common both to *Gentile* and *Christian* writers, it is plain they were the faults of the Times. For whatever advantages the Ancients

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cients might have over us in the arts of poetry, oratory, and history, it is certain, that in the *Science of Reasoning*, as far as it concerns the discovery of moral truth, the moderns are infinitely superior.

THOSE who are not able to form a comparison between them, on their own knowledge, may be reconciled to this conclusion, when the *peculiar hindrances*, in the ancient world, to the advancement of moral truth, on the principles of a just logic, have been laid before them.

THE cultivation of the art of reasoning on this subject, was, in the most early times of learning, in the hands of their ORATORS and SOPHISTS. Whatever was the profession, the real business of the *Ora- tor* was not to convince, but to persuade; and not in favour of truth, but of convenience or utility : which, again, was not general utility (for that coincides with truth) but particular ; which is often at variance with it. So that their art of reasoning, was as much an art to *binder* the discovery of truth, <sup>§</sup> as to *promote* it. Nor was that part

§ UBI verò nimis judicium vis afferenda est, et ab ipsa

which

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which was employed in the support of error merely lost to the service of truth. The mischief went further. It brought in many fallacious rules and modes of reasoning, which greatly embarrassed and misled the Advocate when employed in a better cause. Particularly those by *similitude* and *analogy*: which had their rise from hence; and soon spread, like a leprosy, over all the argumentation of antiquity.

WE need not wonder then, if under this management Truth was rarely found. What seems to be more strange is, that, when it was found, its value was so little understood that it was as frequently sacrificed to the empty *vanity*, as to the more solid *interest*, of the disputer. For the *Sophists*, the speculative Inquirers after truth, made their wisdom (from whence they took their name) to consist in bringing truth to the side of their reasoning; not in bringing their reasoning to the side of truth. Hence it became the glory of their profession to demonstrate for, or against any opinion, indifferently: and they were never better

Veri contemplatione abducenda mens, IBI PROPRIUM  
ORATORIS OPUS EST. Quint. l. vi. c. ii.

pleased



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pleased than when that proposition was prescribed to them for their subject, let it be what it would, which their auditors had a mind should be the truth. The difficulties they frequently had to encounter, in support of so extravagant a character, introduced into the ancient reasoning new modes of fallacies, a set of *metaphysical quibbles*; which being the invention of *wise Men*, are fitted only to impose on others as *wise*.

BUT tho' so much had been done to betray, to estrange, and to discredit Truth; yet common sense revolts against every thing when it becomes, to a certain degree, unnatural. This insolent abuse of Reason, now proceeding to an open mockery of Truth, brought the *Sophists* into public contempt: and gave room to another set of men, of a modester denomination, to raise themselves upon their ruins.

THESE were the PHILOSOPHERS: and to these, it must be owned, the Gentile world owed all its real improvements in the art of reasoning, and advancement in truth. But the defects of their constitution, the errors of their principles, and the folly of their conduct, were so great, that truth was kept in  
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that state of inferiority, in which, we say, it came to the *Fathers* of the Church. It would ill suit the occasion of this discourse to explain these things at large: we can only hint at some of the most considerable.

THE *Philosophers* presently ran into two extremes, *Scepticism* and *Dogmatizing*; of all things the most hurtful to reason: There they doubted too much; here, too little. And these vices they contracted of the stock from which they sprung, the *Sophists*: who by their custom of disputing for and against every thing, brought every thing, in its turn, according to the temper of the recipients, to be firmly embraced, or wantonly suspected. For extremes *often* beget, and, when they have begot, *always* support one another.

A SECOND injury to reason was that principle, which they all held in common, *that truth was ever to give place to utility*. A principle which had the appearance of modesty, as seeming only to imply, what is very true, that we are less able to judge of *causes* than *effects*; but, indeed, the natural issue of the inveteracy and absurdity of popular Paganism, and of its incorporation with the State.

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ANOTHER principle as universal, and no less injurious to the rights of reason, was that the fundamental doctrines of each Sect were to be held unquestioned by its followers. For, in most Societies, Truth is but the second care ; the *first* is to provide for themselves : and as this can be done only by uniformity of opinions, and opinions will continue no longer uniform than while they remain unquestioned, an *ipse dixit* was the *rule* of all, tho' the *badge* only of one Sect. These several defects in the constitution of ancient *Philosophy* had, in course of time, brought on others. The Dogmatists, as was natural, grew *enthusiastic* ; and the Sceptics *immoral*. The two worst disasters that can befall a searcher after Truth : For her abode is neither in the clouds, nor on the dung-hill.

TAKE then all these things together, and we shall see, they must be insuperable bars to any great improvement, in the science of moral reasoning.

BUT to this it will be said, that those two famous instruments of Truth, LOGIC and MATHEMATICS, were, the one invented,



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vented, and the other highly advanced, in these very Ages. It is certain they were. But if the plain truth may be told, the use of these boasted instruments goes no further than to assist us, the one in the FORM of reasoning, the other in the METHOD of discourse.

ARISTOTLE's invention of the *Categories* was a surprizing effort of human wit. But, in practice, *Logic* is more a *Trick* than a *Science*, formed rather to amuse than to instruct. And, in some sort, we may apply to the *art of Syllogism* what a man of wit says of *Rhetoric*, that it only tells us how to name those tools, which nature had before put into our hands, and habit taught the use of. However, all its real virtue consists in the compendious detection of a Fallacy. This is the utmost it can do for Truth. In the service of Chicane, indeed, it is a mere juggler's knot, now fast, now loose; and the *Schools* where this Legerdemain was exercised in great perfection, are full of the Stories of its wonders. But its true value is now well known: and there is but little need to put it lower in the general estimation.

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HOWEVER what *Logic* hath lost of its credit for this service, *Mathematics* have gained. And *Geometry* is now supposed to do wonders as well in the system of Man as of Matter. It must be owned, the real virtue it hath, it had acquired long since: for, by what is left us of antiquity, we see how elegantly it was then handled, and how sublimely it was pursued. But the truth is, all its use, for the purpose in question, besides what hath been already mentioned, seems to be only habituating the mind to think long and closely: and it would be well if this advantage made amends for some inconveniencies, as inseparable from its study. It may seem perhaps too much a paradox to say, that long habit in this Science incapacitates the mind for reasoning at large, and especially in the search of moral Truth. And yet, I believe, nothing is more certain. The object of Geometry is demonstration, and its subject admits of it, and is almost the only one that doth. In this science, whatever is not demonstration, is nothing; or at least below the sublime Inquirer's regard. *Probability* thro' its almost infinite degrees, from simple ignorance up to abso-

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lute certainty, is the *terra incognita* of the Geometer. And yet here it is that the great business of the human mind, is carried on, the search and discovery of all the important Truths which concern us as reasonable Beings. And here too it is that all its vigour is exerted : for to proportion the assent to the probability accompanying every varying degree of moral Evidence requires the most enlarged and sovereign exercise of Reason. But, as to excel in the use of any thing, the habit must always be in proportion to the difficulty, it seems very unlikely that the *Geometer*, long confined to the routine of demonstration, the easiest exercise of reason, where much less of the Vigour than of the Attention of mind is required to excel, should form a right judgment on subjects, whose Truth or Falshood is to be rated by the probabilities of moral Evidence. I venture to call mathematics the easiest exercise of reason, on the authority of *Cicero*, who observes, *that scarce any man ever set himself upon this study, who did not make what progress in it he pleased*<sup>h</sup>. But besides ac-

<sup>h</sup> Quis ignorat, ii, qui Mathematici vocantur, quanta in obscuritate rerum, & quam recondita in arte & mul-

quired



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quired inability, prejudice renders the veteran Mathematician still less capable of judging of moral Evidence. He who hath been so long accustomed to lay together and compare ideas, and hath reaped Demonstration, the richest fruit of speculative Truth, for his labour, regards all the lower degrees of Evidence as in the train only of his mathematical Principality: and he commonly ranks them in so arbitrary a manner, that the *ratio ultima Mathematicorum* is become almost as great a libel upon common sense, as other sovereign decisions. I might appeal, for the truth of this, to those wonderful conclusions which *Geometers*, when condescending to write on History, Ethics, or Theology, have made from their premisses. But the thing is notorious: and it is now no secret that the oldest Mathematician in *England* is the worst Reasoner in it. But I would not be mistaken, as undervaluing the many useful discoveries made from time to time in moral matters by professed Mathematicians. Nor will any one so mistake me, who

tiplici, subtilique versentur? quo tamen in genere ita multi perfecti homines exstiterunt, ut nemo fere studuisse ei scientiæ vehementius videatur, quin, quod voluerit, consecutus sit. *De Orat.* l. i.

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does not first confound the Genius and the Geometer; and then conclude that what was the atchievement of his Wit, was the product of his Theorems.

YET still it must be owned, that this discipline habituates the mind to think closely; and may help us to a good method of composition. In those most unpromising ages, when the *forms* of the Schools were as tedious and intricate, as the *matter* they treated, was absurd or trifling, it hath had force enough to break thro' the bondage of custom, and to clear away the thorns that then perplexed and overgrew the paths of learning. *Thomas Bradwardin*, a mathematician, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the fourteenth Century, in his famous book *De causa Dei*, hath treated his subject, not as it was wont to be handled in the Schools, but in the better method of the Geometers. And in another instance, of more importance, he hath given the age he lived in an example to emancipate itself from the slavery of fashion, I mean in his attempt (as by his freedom with the *Fathers* it seems to be) of reducing their extravagant authority to more reasonable bounds. But yet, so  
true

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true is the foregoing observation, that tho' mathematics, in good hands, could do this, it could do no more: All the opening it gave to Truth could not secure *Bradwardin* from the dishonour of becoming advocate for the most absurd opinion that ever was, the *Anti-Pelagian* Doctrine of *St. Austin*; in which the good archbishop was so much in earnest, that he calls the defence of it, *the Cause of God*.

To return. Such was the state and condition of the human understanding in the ancient World (rather a *mechanical* than a *moral* cultivation of reason) when CHRISTIANITY arose, and on such Principles as were best fitted to correct those very errors and prejudices, which had so long and so fatally retarded the progress of Truth. It would require a just volume to treat this matter as it deserves. The nature of my work will not allow me to enlarge upon it. I can only give a single instance, but an instance of importance, namely the use of the Christian principles in discovering the true *end* of man; and in directing him to the right *mean* of attaining it.



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THE knowledge of the ONE GOD, as the moral and immediate Governor of the Universe, directly leads us to the *supreme good*; and the doctrine of FAITH, the first and only religious principle, and that too of positive Religion, which ever inspired the *love of truth*, enables us to procure it.

IN the Pagan world, the *end* was totally obscured by their having always kept out of sight the *true* God, that *supreme good*, which, therefore, they must needs search in vain: and the *mean* entirely lost by their having introduced a number of *false* ones, whose discordant pretensions and vicious examples had quite absorbed the *love of truth*.

THESE were amongst the great principles revealed by Heaven for the advancement of *moral knowledge*: and in God's good time they had their effect: tho' indeed somewhat with the latest. For it is not to be dissembled, that here, as in most other cases in the moral World, the perversity of Man soon ran counter to God's Providence; which had so admirably fitted and disposed things for a general reform.

I HAVE said the *Fathers* were, at least, equal, or rather, superior to those Gentile Writers,

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Writers, their contemporaries, whom we most affect to admire : I shall now explain the unhappy causes (in which *religion* and *reason* suffered equally, as they always will suffer together) why the Fathers did not, in the exactness of their *Logic*, and in the purity of their *Ethics*, infinitely surpass them.

THE first Preachers of the Gospel were the inspired Messengers of the WORD. They committed its dictates to writing; and with that *Purity*, and consequently with that *Splendor*, in which they drew them from the fountain of Truth.

THEIR immediate followers, whom we are wont to call the *Apostolic Fathers*, received at their hands the Doctrine of Life, in all the simplicity of *Understanding* as well as *Heart*. It cannot be said their Writings do much honour to the rational sublimity of sacred Truth; but then they have not hurt or violated its integrity. For false philosophy had not yet made havock of the Faith, tho' it was then indeed beginning to work. If, in their Writings, we see but little of that manly elegance of Reason, which makes the Scriptures so truly respectable, it must be allowed however, there is as little  
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of those adulterate Ornaments, which their Successors brought from the brothels of Philosophy to adorn the sanctity of Religion : And let me add further, that tho' the early prospect of things may not be, in all respects, what we could wish it ; yet there is one circumstance, which does great credit to our holy Faith : It is this, that as the integrity and dignity of its simple and perfect nature refused all fellowship with the adulterate arts of Grecian learning ; so the admirable display of divine Wisdom in disposing the parts, and conducting the course of the grand system of Redemption, was not to be tolerably apprehended but by an improved and well disciplined Understanding. Both these qualities suited the nobility of its Original. It could bear no communion with *error* ; and was as little fitted to consort with *ignorance*.

THE men of *Science* were not the first who attended to the call of the Gospel. It was not likely, they should be the first. Their station presented many prejudices against it. It was taught by simple and unlettered Men, whose condition they held in contempt ; and it required that they who  
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had been till now the Teachers of Mankind, should become Learners. The Doctrines of the Gospel had indeed this to recommend them, that they were *rational*; but the Philosophers were already no strangers to those principles of natural Religion which Christianity adopted, such as the unity of the Godhead, his moral Government, and the essential difference between good and evil. The attestations to its Truth were *wonderful*; but these, their principles of false Philosophy enabled them to evade: so that their Passions and Prejudices, for some time, supported them in holding out against all the conviction of Gospel-Evidence.

BUT it was not so with plainer Men. They submitted to its force with less reluctance, Philosophy had secreted from them the high truths it taught, concerning God and his Attributes; so that the Religion which openly delivered these things, of such repose and comfort to the human mind, was eagerly embraced by them. And as the Grecian Wisdom could not keep them from receiving the Truth when offered, so neither did that false science tempt them to vitiate

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vitate it after they had received it, and were become the Preachers of it. They were apt indeed to fall into the other extreme, and (by considering of how little use Philosophy had ever been to Mankind<sup>b</sup>, and how violently it now opposed the new Religion which had mankind for its object) to neglect or avoid all human literature, without distinction. They saw, in the power of Miracles, a more efficacious way of propagating the Faith: and they thought they saw, in St. *Paul's* censure of the Grecian science, the condemnation of all human literature, in general. St. *Paul* had himself abstained from their meretricious Eloquence, and had cautioned posterity against their magical Philosophy. The *first*, lest it should occasion a suspicion that the Faith had made its way rather by the arts of human speech, than by the power of the Spirit: The *latter*, because he saw it fatally framed to infect Religion; and had some experience, and more divine foresight, that it would speedily do so.

<sup>b</sup> Est enim Philosophia paucis contenta Judicibus, Multitudinein consulto ipsa fugiens. *Cic. Tuscul. quæst.* l. ii. c. 3.

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INDEED the time was at hand. For the convictive evidence, and rapid progress of the Gospel had so shaken and disconcerted Learned pride, that the next age saw a torrent of Believers pour in, from the Schools of their Rhetors, the Colleges of their Philosophers, and the Cloisters of their Priests. The sincerity of these illustrious Converts in embracing a Religion which did not hold out, so much as in distant prospect, any advantages of the temporal kind, cannot be fairly brought in question. Their discretion, their prudence, were the things wanting. For that passion of new Converts, *Zeal*, which is then least under the direction of *Knowledge* when it most needs it, hindered them from making their *advantages* of the principles of Revelation; so admirably fitted, as we have shewn, to improve human nature on that side where its perfection lies, I mean, in the high attainments of moral Science. For, instead of reasoning from truths clearly revealed, and so, from things known, to advance, by due degrees, in the method of the mathematicians, to the discovery of truths unknown, They travestied obscure uncertainties, nay, mani-  
fest



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fest errors, into truth ; and sought in Philosophy and Logic analogies and quibbles to support them.

THEIR two great objects, as became them, were to increase the number of Believers ; and to defend the Faith against Infidels and Heretics.

AMONGST the means they employed for the speedy conversion of the world, one was to bring Christianity as near to the Genius of the *Gentile Religion*, and of the *Greek Philosophy*<sup>k</sup>, as could be done with a safe conscience, and without offence. They thought it prudent to avail themselves of the

<sup>k</sup> It is very observable, that, while the *Fathers* were thus dishonouring Christianity by giving it the fashionable air of Paganism, the *Philosophers*, on their side, were as busy in reforming and purifying their Systems on the model of the great truths of Revelation. [See Div. Leg.] And, what is yet more strange, this mutual approach still kept them at an irreconciled distance. For the advances on both sides were only that each might keep their own ground the better ; the *Philosophers*, by conciliating the Reason ; the *Fathers*, by indulging to the Passions ; into which different conduct they were equally betrayed by the condition of our common nature, unable either to bear pure and simple truth, or gross and undisguised error.

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prejudices of Paganism; and perhaps they themselves were not free from all remains of those prejudices. The Jewish law, ill understood, satisfied them in the innocence of these means. They saw there, compliances made by God himself to the prejudices and superstitions of the times. But they did not see that a local Worship, instituted for peculiar and temporary ends, was to be conducted on maxims different from those of a general Religion erected on the universal principles of Spirit and Truth. They did not see that *one* mean was to be pursued when the end was to keep a chosen Family from the contagion of a pestiferous Idolatry; and *another*, when Idolaters were to be invited into the profession of saving Faith.

THERE were two things in Paganism, which, as they excited and kept up that amusing exercise of the mind, *Admiration*, did, more than any other, hold the people attached to Idolatry; and these were MYSTERIOUS RITES and HIDDEN DOCTRINES.

ONE would think it hard to find an equivalent for these in so simple and perfect a Religion

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Religion as the Christian ; yet the figurative expressions in the institution of the *last Supper*, and the frequent mention of mysteries in the Apostolic Writings, tho' it be of mysteries which the Genius of the Gospel had *revealed*, not of such as it had *invented*, gave occasion to accommodators to speak of the celebration of the *last Supper* as a mysterious rite, to which they applied all the terms in use at the celebration of the Pagan Mysteries ; and of the doctrine of *Redemption* as one of those sublime and hidden Doctrines, which the fanatic *Platonists*, the fashionable sect of those times, boasted they had in trust, for the purification and advancement of human nature <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This will account for a circumstance that never fails of giving scandal to the readers of Church-History : Which is, that the Principles and Doctrines of the Ancient *Heretics* were infinitely more shocking and absurd than those of any modern *Seċtaries*. The reason (we see) is that the ancient Heretics formed their tenets on the Principles of *Pagan Philosophy* ; while the modern Seċtaries form theirs on the Books of *sacred Scripture*. And tho' the one was on Philosophy reformed and purified, and the other is on the Bible perverted and misunderstood, yet the difference in favour of the latter becomes immense.

THIS



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THIS mysterious Genius of Paganism, together with its popular absurdities, naturally and necessarily produced a method of teaching, which always pleases the imagination in proportion as it disgusts the judgment, that is to say, the method of *Allegory*. An art excellently fitted to cover the early follies of *vulgar* Gentilism, and to ornament the late knaveries of the *Philosophic*; but very abhorrent of the genius of Christianity, where every thing was rational, and every thing plain and open. Yet as Allegory was become the general Vehicle of instruction, and that which particularly distinguished the School of PLATO, the *Fathers*, who leaned most towards that Sect, thought fit to accommodate themselves to the fashion. They allegorized every thing; and their success was such as might be expected from so absurd a measure. Here, again, *Judaism*, misunderstood, supported them in this ill-judged expedient. For the *Law* is full of Allegories, and figurative representations. And with great propriety, as that religion was dependent on, and preparatory to the *Gospel*: which, being its *end* and completion, required to have some shadow of itself delineated in the *means*. But this, which

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shews the use of Allegories to be reasonable in the *Old Testament*, shews the folly of expecting them in the *New*. For when the substance was advanced, and placed in full light, the shadow was of course to be cast behind. Yet, by the most unaccountable perversity, the very reason which the Apostle gives for the necessity of interpreting the *Law* figuratively, that *the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life*, was made the authority for using the *Gospel* in the same manner.

WE have said, that the school to which the Fathers chiefly inclined, was the academy. There is a passage in St. Austin, which shews to what excess the Authority of Plato was carried. In his *Confessions*, he returns thanks to God for having made the books of Plato an Instrument of redeeming him from the errors of *Manicheism*. His partialities for that Philosopher must have strangely blinded him; for, humanly speaking, nothing could have more contributed to keep him a Manichean than the Doctrines of Plato, who held two coeternal principles, *God* and *matter*, and that the latter was the cause of evil. This fondness for the Academy arose partly from  
its

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its being the Philosophy in fashion, and partly because (in consequence of that) several of the Fathers came from that School into the Church; but chiefly because they had entertained greater hopes of bringing over the Platonists to the Faith, which, as Plato was in the highest credit, would be a victory over Philosophy in general. What they seemed to ground their hopes upon was the sceptical disposition of the Academy as in its first institution. The soberer Platonists professed to seek Truth; and were not ashamed to own they could not find it. It was therefore imagined they would gladly receive it, in doctrines so rationally deduced, and so clearly revealed. But in this they were deceived: for Uncertainty is not the *state and condition* of the Sceptic's knowledge, but the *Principle and the Genius* of it, and it was departing from the fundamental laws of their profession to acknowledge any thing Certain. As for the enthusiastic part of this Sect, which was now daily getting ground, the *magic*, to which they were so madly given, kept them confined within its circle. This, and some manifest mischiefs, which even the warmest of the *Fathers* could not but perceive,



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made them ever and anon, when in ill humour with a Heretic, to execrate the Schools of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Pythagoras*, &c. and denounce each of them, in their turns, to be the great nurseries of Error: as Tertullian did of the chief of them, who calls *Platonism* the common seasoning of Heresy. But, falsely supposing that the evil arose from this or that particular Sect, when it had its root in the constitution of them all, they went on exclaiming against their *particular Doctrines*, and theologizing and reasoning on their *general Principles*. We say the Fathers would sometimes call the Greek Philosophy the nursery of Heresy. Nothing is more true. And yet all the difference between the *Orthodox* and the *Heretics*, as far as concerned their application of Philosophy to Religion, was only from less to more. The Orthodox employed it to *explain* articles of faith; and the Heretics to *invent* them<sup>m</sup>.

Thus much for a taste of the *Didactic* Theology of the Fathers. Their *Polemic* favoured as strongly of the same impure

<sup>m</sup> *Omnium Hæreticorum condimentarium.*

mixture.

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mixture. For, the form of argument, and force of confutation, came from the same Shops: From the teaching *Rhetors* they learnt the art of reasoning by *similitudes* and *analogies*; from the talking *Orators*, that capital argument, called, *ad hominem*; and from the wrangling academic *Philosophers*, the address of *using any sort of Principles* to support their own opinions, or confute their adversaries. The three lasting bars to the discovery and advancement of Truth.

BUT matters still grew from bad to worse; till one black cloud of blind credulity had over-spread the Western World: this was followed by a Spiritual Dominion, which took advantage of the disorders occasioned by the continued inroads of fierce Barbarians, to strike its roots deep and wide in the fat and lumpish soil of Gothic ignorance. For as a *Temporal Tyranny* maintains itself by corrupt *Manners*, so a *Spiritual*, by corrupt *Doctrines*. And, as in large Empires subject to the former, the luxury of Vice runs into *delicacies*; so, in those of the latter, the Absurdity of *Doctrines* converts itself into *Subtilties*. Hence the original of the SCHOOLMEN's art; as we find it completed in the PERIPATETIC Code of *Sums*

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and *Sentences*. And this was in the order of things: what the *fanatic visions* of the *Platonic Philosophy* had brought into the Faith, it was but fit the *frigid subtilties* of the *Aristotelian* should support<sup>a</sup>. And it is observable, that the use the *Schoolmen* made of their disputatious genius, was just the same the *Sophists* had made before them. For triumphant Dulness commonly grows wanton in the exercise of imputed Wit. And the *Sic* and *Non* of *Peter Abelard* was now as famous as heretofore the *προβάλλει* of *Gorgias*.

At length Truth shot its ray into this Chaos of disordered reason: but it came not directly from its Source; but from the ferment of such Passions as error and corruption are apt to raise amongst those who govern in, and benefit by, that state of confusion. For when a Reform happens to arise from within, it cannot be supposed to have its birth in a love of truth; hardly, in the knowledge of it. Generally, some oblique Passion gratifies itself in decrying the grosser corruptions, supported by, and

<sup>a</sup> It is remarkable, that the *Mahometan Arabs*, by the assistance of the *same Philosophy*, invented the same kind of *Scholastic Theology*: and, as with superior refinement, in proportion to the subtler wits of that people; so, with better judgment: for that which obscures reason, will always be a cover for absurdity.

supporting,



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supporting, Those it hates. The Machine thus set a going, Truth has fair play: she is now at liberty to procure friends, and to attach them to her service. This was the course of things in the Revolution we are about to speak of; and is the natural rise and progress of religious Reformations in general. For if, in the state of such established error, Providence was to wait till a love of truth had set men upon shaking off their bondage, its Dispensations could never provide that timely aid, which we now find they always do to distressed Humanity. For when the corruption hath spread so wide, as to make Truth, if by chance she could be found, an indifferent object; What is there left, to enable men to break their fetters, but the clashing interests of the corruption itself? And it is knowing as little of the *religious*, as of the *moral* course of God's Providence, to upbraid those, who have profited of this blessing, with the baseness of the Instruments that procured it<sup>a</sup>.

HOWEVER, the love of Truth soon came in aid of Those, whom St. *Paul* himself did

<sup>a</sup> “ Si on veut réduire les causes des progres de la Ré-  
 forme à des principes simples, on verra, qu'en Alle-  
 magne ce fut l'Ouvrage de l'Interêt, en Angleterre  
 celui de l'Amour; et en France celui de la Nouveau-  
 té, ou peut-être d'une Chançon.” Voiez, *Memoirs*  
*pour servir à l'Histoire de Brandebourg de main de Mai-*  
*tre*, p. 27.

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not think fit to discourage, such as *preach* Christ even of envy and strife, to carry on the work of Reformation. For though the *grossness* of the corruptions did not straitway make them *suspected*; yet, being tyrannically imposed, they soon became *bated*; and that hatred brought on an enquiry, which never ended but with their detection. And then, Those, whose honesty and courage emboldened them to make a secession, found no way of supporting themselves in their new-recovered liberty, but by supplying their want of power with a superior share of knowledge.

To this every thing concurred. They were led, even by the spirit of opposition, to the fountain of truth, the Scriptures; from which they had been so long excluded. And the Scriptures, as we observed, had, amongst their other advantages, this peculiar virtue, to direct and enlarge the Mind; by providing it with such objects as were best suited for its contemplation; and presenting them in such lights as most readily promoted its improvement by them. Such too was the gracious disposition of Heaven, that, at the very time they were breaking up the recovered fountains of divine knowledge, the whole treasury of human learning

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ing was ready to be laid open to them. For a powerful Nation of fierce Enthusiasts, the enemies of the Christian name, had just driven *Grecian Literature* from its native seats, and forced it to take refuge in the West of *Europe*.

How admirable are the ways of Providence! and how illustrious was its present dispensation! It directed the independent, the various, and the contrary Revolutions of *these times*, to rectify the mischiefs occasioned by the *past*: Whereby that very Learning, which, in the first ages had been perverted to corrupt Christianity, was now employed to purify and restore it: that very Philosophy, which had been adopted to explain articles of Faith, was now studied only to instruct us in the history of the human mind, and to assist us in developing its faculties, and regulating its operations: and those very systems which had supported the whole body of *School divinity*, now afforded the principles proper to overturn it.

BUT in the course of this Reform, it was not enough that the bad Logic, on which the School-determinations rested, should be reduced to its just value. The service



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service of Truth required the invention of a better. A better was invented : and the superiority that followed from its use was immediately felt : So that our adversaries were soon reduced to avail themselves of the same advantages. Thus the true science of humanity opened and enlarged itself : It spread and penetrated through every quarter ; till it arrived to that distinguished condition in which we place the true glory of these later Ages.

THE advantage of the *modern* over *ancient* Times, in the successful pursuit of moral science, is now generally acknowledged. And the impartial Reader, who hath attended to these brief reflections, will, we presume, find no other cause, to which it can be so reasonably ascribed, as to the *genius* and the *constitution* of the Christian religion ; whose *Doctrines* reveal the great Principles of moral truth ; and whose *Discipline* establishes a Ministry consecrated to the service of it.

IT is true, indeed, the concurrence of several cross accidents had for many ages deprived the World of these advantages : They had defeated the natural virtue and efficacy  
I of

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of the *Doctrines*; and rendered the *Discipline* vain and useless. For these two parts of the Christian system cannot act but in conjunction: separate them, and its *Doctrines* will abound in *enthusiasms*, and its *Discipline*, in *superstitions*. But now, since the cold and heavy incumbrance of *human inventions* hath been removed out of the *Lord's Vineyard*, the Ministers of Religion have been enabled to produce that fruit which, from the beginning, they were appointed to cultivate and mature. So that greater improvements were made, during the last two hundred years, in the science of Humanity, than in all the preceding ages put together.

NOR let any one, from what he may have seen not very conformable to these ideas, suspect the truth of this representation. It was never pretended that these advantages prevailed equally or constantly, in all places, to which the influence of their causes had reached. As time would improve them in some, so it would impair them in others. All Nature is in a constant flux, and every modification of it, however circumstanced, when considered locally, must have its period; and such as are most

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valuable, have, very often, the quickest. Of the advantages spoken of above, a certain Protestant Community, not far from us, had made the best use: and the *System of Man*, that is, of Ethics and Theology, had received there almost as many improvements, as the *System of Nature*, amongst another people, hath done since. It would have received more but for the evil influence which the corrupt and mistaken Politics of those times had upon it. For Politics have ever had great effects on science. And this is natural. What is strange in the story is, that these studies gradually decayed under a constitution established upon better principles. So that there was neither force enough in the public genius to emulate their Forefathers; nor sense enough to understand the use of their discoveries. It would be an invidious task to enquire into the causes of that degeneracy. It is sufficient, for men's humiliation, that they felt the effects. Not that we must suppose, there was nothing to dishonour the happier times which went before: there were too many: but then the mischiefs were well repaired by the abundance of the blessings. *That* Church, like a fair and vigorous tree, teemed once with the



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the richest and noblest burthen. And tho', together with its best fruits, it pushed out some hurtful suckers, receding every way from the mother plant; crooked and mishapen, if you will, and obscuring and eclipsing the beauty of its stem; yet still there was something in their height and verdure which bespoke the generosity of the stock they rose from. She hath been since seen under all the marks of a decay: her top scorched and blasted, her chief branches bare and dry, and nothing of that comeliness which once invited the whole Continent to her shade. The principal sign of life she gave, was the exsuding from her sickly Trunk a number of deform'd Fungus's; which called themselves of her, because they stuck upon her surface, and sucked out the little remainder of her sap and spirits.

To conclude: My more immediate concern in these observations was to justify the FATHERS from the injurious contempt under which they now lye. But, in the course of this Apology, I have endeavoured to serve a greater purpose; which was, to vindicate

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dicare our holy Religion from its supposed impotency and incapacity to direct and enlarge the reasoning faculties, in the discovery and advancement of moral truth.

So far then as to the *genius and literary talents* of the *Fathers*: their *moral* character is a distinct question; and would well bear, and deserve examination. But I have already gone beyond my limits. However, this I may venture to say, that the most prejudiced against them, tho' they talk, will never be able to prove, that they had an immoral intention to deceive\*. If there be any learned man who thinks otherwise, I would advise him, before he attempts to prosecute this charge against them, to weigh well the force of the following Remark, tho' made on somewhat a different occasion. "When-  
" ever (says the admirable author of the  
" *Esprit des Loix*) one observes, in any age  
" or government, the several Bodies in a  
" Community intent on augmenting their  
" own authority, and vigilant to procure

\* See a very sensible and ingenious Writer, the Reverend Mr. *Frederick Toll*, on this head, p. 88, & seq. who (distinct from the merits of the cause) has with uncommon abilities and candor *Defended the Free Enquiry of Dr. Middleton*.

" certain

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“ certain advantages to themselves exclusive  
 “ of each other’s pretensions, we should  
 “ run a very great chance of being deceived  
 “ if we regarded these attempts as a certain  
 “ mark of their corruptions. By an unhap-  
 “ piness inseparable from the condition of  
 “ humanity, Moderation is a rare virtue in  
 “ Men of superior talents. And as it is al-  
 “ ways more easy to push on force in the  
 “ direction in which it moves, than to stop  
 “ or divert its moment ; perhaps, in the  
 “ class of superior Geniuses, you will soon-  
 “ er find men extremely virtuous, than ex-  
 “ tremely prudent. ”

° Lorsque dans un Siècle, ou dans un Gouvernement,  
 on voit les divers Corps de l’Etat chercher à augmenter  
 leur Autorité, & à prendre les uns sur les autres de cer-  
 tains avantages, on se tromperoit souvent, si l’on regar-  
 doit leurs entreprises, comme une marque certaine de  
 leur Corruption. Par un malheur attaché à la condi-  
 tion humaine, les Grands-hommes modérés sont rares ;  
 & comme il est toujours plus aisé de suivre sa force que  
 de l’arrêter, peut-être dans la classe des Gens supérieurs,  
 est-il plus facile de trouver des Gens extrêmement ver-  
 tueux, que des hommes extrêmement sages. See the  
*Esprit des Loix*, vol. ii. p. 334. octavo edit. a Work  
 that makes the Age amends for all the loose, declamato-  
 ry, party pamphlets on *Government, Politics, Patriotism,*  
*and Laws*, with which it hath been so long beduped,  
 bewildered, and amused.







# A DISCOURSE

On the ATTEMPT of the  
EMPEROR JULIAN

To rebuild the  
TEMPLE of JERUSALEM.  
BOOK I.

**I**N considering the state of this new controversy, concerning MIRACLES, *two* things seemed to be wanting, tho' very useful to oppose to the insinuations of licentious Readers, who are commonly more forward to come to a conclusion than the Disputants themselves; the *one* was, to shew that *all* the Miracles recorded in *Church-History*, are *not* forgeries or delusions: The *other*, that their evidence doth *not* stand on the same foot of credit with the Miracles recorded in *Gospel-History*. For most theological debates amongst Churchmen, notwithstanding the service they do

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to

2 *Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild* Book 1.  
to Truth, occasion this apparent mischief to the People, that the Enemies of religion spread abroad *their own* consequences from them, as the consequences of the *doctrines advanced*, how contrary soever to the express reasonings and declarations of the Parties concerned.

To obviate therefore the ABUSES arising from the management of the present question, I have taken upon me to *defend* A MIRACLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY; and to *enquire into the nature of that Evidence, which will demand the assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact.*

THE first part of this plan is prosecuted in the following sheets: The second, will afford a subject for another discourse.

MY chief purpose here is to prove the miraculous interposition of Providence, in defeating the attempt of JULIAN to rebuild the TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

As my design in writing is in behalf of our common Christianity, and not to support or to discredit the particular doctrines of this or that Church or Age; I have taken for my subject a Miracle worked by the immediate



mediate Agency of God, and not through the Ministry of his Servants.

So that, whether the power of miracles as exercised by the Apostles, and their first followers, ceased with them, or was conveyed to their successors of the next age, is a question that doth not at all affect the present subject: For, God's shortening the hands of his servants doth not imply that he shortened his own.

## CHAP. I.

**W**HEN God, in his mercy, had decreed to restore mankind to the state of immortality forfeited by *Adam*, he saw fit, in order to preserve the memory of himself amidst a world running headlong into Idolatry, to select a single Family, which, advanced into a Nation, might, in the interim, become the repository of his holy Name. To this purpose he took the seed of *Abraham*, in reward of the virtues of their forefathers, and, in due time, brought them, by Leaders chosen from amongst themselves, to the Land he had appointed for them.

4 *Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild* Book I.

IN compliance with the religious notions of those times, he condescended, when he communicated himself as the Maker and Governor of the Universe, to adopt them for his peculiar People, under the idea of their *tutelar Deity*, or the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. And, the better to secure the great end of their separation, assumed likewise the title and office of their *King*, or civil Governor.

HENCE their Religion came under the idea of a *Law*; and was so considered and denominated. And their Law was, in the strictest sense, *Religion*, as having all the sanctions of a divine command.

IN a word, those two great Rules of human conduct, which are, elsewhere, kept so distinct by their different originals, and different administrations, were, here, by the sameness in both, specifically lost in a perfect incorporation. And the whole œconomy (as every thing in this dispensation was relative to the *Jews* as a body) went under the common name of *LAW*.

FROM this account of the *Jewish* Constitution, it follows, That Religion, which, elsewhere,

elsewhere, hath only *particulars* for its subjects, had, Here, the nation or *community*: And what, elsewhere, as far as concerns the divine origine of religion, is only a *private* matter, was, Here, a *public*: For the Deity being both their tutelary God and civil Governor, the proper object of his care, in each capacity, was the collective Body: And, whether we consider the observance due to him under the idea of Law or Religion, it was still the Body which was the proper subject of it. Not but that Religion had there a *private* part, or particulars for its subject: But then it was that Religion we call *natural*; founded in what reason discovers of the relation between the Creator and the Creature; an aid, which Revelation is so far from rejecting, that we find it constitutes the ground of every extraordinary Dispensation vouchsafed by God to mankind. For, *he that cometh to God, [i. e. by revelation] must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him*<sup>a</sup>.

FROM this account of the *Hebrew* Government, one natural consequence ariseth, That the principal Rites of their *religion*

<sup>a</sup> Heb. xi. 6.



6 *Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild* Book I.

and *law* were to be performed and celebrated in some determined place. This, the object and subject of their *ceremonial* seemed equally to require. For, the ideas of tutelary God and King implied a Local residence : And a national act, created by the relations arising from these things, required a fixed and certain place for its celebration : And both together seemed to mark out the Capital of the Country for that purpose.

THIS consequent practice, which the nature and reason of things so evidently point out, the Institutes of the *Hebrew* Constitution expressly order and enjoin. During the early and unsettled times of the *Jewish* State, the Sacrifices, prescribed by their Ritual, were directed to be offered up before the door of an ambulatory Tabernacle : But when they had gained the establishment decreed for them, and a magnificent Temple was erected for religious worship, then all their Sacrifices were to be offered at *Jerusalem* only.

Now, sacrifices constituting the substance of their national worship, their Religion could not be said to subsist longer than the continuance of that Celebration. But sacrifices

Book I. *the Temple of Jerusalem.* 7

crifices could be performed only in one appointed Temple: So that, when this was finally destroyed, the Institution itself became abolished.

NOR was any thing more consonant to the *nature* of this religion, than the assigning such a celebration of its Rites. The Temple would exist while they remained a People, and continued sovereign: And when they ceased to be such, they would indeed lose their Temple, but then they had no further use for it; because the Rites there celebrated were relative to them, only as a civil policed Nation.

THESE consequences are all so necessarily connected, and clearly understood, that when *Jesus* informs the woman of *Samaria* of the approaching abolition of the Law of *Moses*, he expresses himself by this circumstance, that men should *no longer worship at the Temple of Jerusalem* <sup>b</sup>.

As on the other hand, when the false witnesses against *Stephen* deposed that they heard him say, that *Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the holy place*, the Temple, they drew their own inference from it, that

<sup>b</sup> John iv. 21.

8 *Of Julian's Attempt to rebuild* Book I.  
*he would change the law and customs which*  
*Moses had delivered them* <sup>c</sup>.

IF, from the *nature* of this religion, we go on to consider its *end*, we shall find, in it, all the marks of a Religion, preparatory and introductory to another more complete and perfect; of which it contains the rudiments, and presents the shadow. Such as the confining its fundamental doctrine, the worship of the true God, within the limits of one small Country. Such again, as its multifarious and enigmatic Ritual; of which no reasonable account can be had, but that part was instituted to oppose the reigning superstitions, in order to preserve the Separation; and part to prefigure, by types or symbols, the essential circumstances of some future Dispensation.

BUT Christianity, which established its pretensions by the power of Miracles and the purity of Doctrine, doth in fact support these conclusions, by representing Judaism

<sup>c</sup> Acts vi. 13, 14. And in this the Falshood of their testimony seemed to consist. For *Stephen* could never have spoken so crudely of the Destruction of the *Law*, when his Master had said, he was *not come to destroy the Law but to fulfill it*. Mat. v. 17.



as only the rudiments and shadow of its own more complete œconomy.

THIS being premised, we say, that the more perfect Dispensation could not take place till the less perfect, which prefigured it, and prepared its way, was set aside and abolished.

BUT now, if the mere voluntary adherence to a Religion, or Men's calling themselves of it, were enough to prevent its abolition, the perverseness and obstinacy of our nature are such, that they might, and, in fact, would lie in the way, and obstruct the purposes of Providence.

THEREFORE has the great Disposer of all things so divinely constituted this preparatory Religion, as to put it out of the power of human perversity even to delay or retard its destined abolition; by so constituting the natures, and disposing the order of his Dispensations, that those essential Rites, which made the *Jewish* Religion to be what it was, should of necessity require a fixed local celebration, which it was not possible to perform longer than while the *Jewish* People continued a Nation, and in possession of the sovereignty of *Palestine*. St.

*Chrysostom*

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*Chrysostom* has an elegant observation to this purpose : " From the necessity (says he) of  
" a local worship, God covertly withdrew  
" the *Jews* from the rage of ritual observ-  
" ances. For as a Physician, by breaking  
" the cup, prevents his patient from indulg-  
" ing his appetite in a hurtful draught ; so  
" God with-held them from their sacrifices,  
" by destroying the City itself, and making  
" the place inaccessible to all of them <sup>d</sup>."

It may not be improper, in this place, to take notice of an objection, though indeed it be already obviated. It is, " that the sacrificing at *Jerusalem* being a mere ceremony, we can hardly conceive how the want of it should annihilate the whole system of a religious Institution." The objection goes upon ideas foreign to the subject. The *essence* of the *Jewish* religion was *ceremonial*. Hence it is, that there is no word in the *Hebrew* language that signi-

<sup>d</sup> — Διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἀνάγκης λανθανόντως αὐτὸς ἀπήγαγε, τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα μανίας—ὥσπερ ἐν ὁ Ἰατρός ἵσησι τῆς ἀκαίρου ψυχροποσίας τ' ἄρρωστον, τὸ σκεῦος ἀφανίσας, ἔτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θυσιῶν ἀπήγαγε, τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ καθελὼν, καὶ ποιήσας αὐτῷ ἄβατον πᾶσιν. Homil. VI. advers. Jud.

fies what we mean by *ceremonies*: nor, if what we have delivered, concerning the nature and genius of the *Jewish* religion, be true, could there be any such. The same is observable in the *Greek* language. And the reason is the same. It hath been shewn elsewhere<sup>e</sup>, that this nature was common both to the *Jewish* and *Greek* Religions; rational indeed, in the former; but altogether absurd in the other. Yet it will be said, the *Romans* had a word to express *ceremonies*. It is true, they had. And the reason of their having it will shew why the *Jews* and *Greeks* had it not. Their Lawgiver, *Numa*, instituted a kind of system of *natural* Religion for their *national* use; which, time and craft soon corrupted with gross idolatries. So that as superstitions accumulated, they would be under a necessity of inventing a word to signify that specific mode of worship, through which such superstitions were conveyed.

THUS Judaism being of necessity to cease on the establishment of Christianity, we see for what reason it was predicted, that when *Shiloh* came, the sceptre should depart from

• Div. Leg.

I

*Judab.*



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*Judah.* Admirable are the ways of Providence! and so will they be always found, whenever we happen upon the clue, that leads us to the right opening.

IF then, from the nature of things, it doth appear, that the TEMPLE WORSHIP must fall with the rise of that which is *in spirit and in truth*; and that the abolition of the *Mosaic* Law is essential to the establishment of the Gospel; we cannot but conclude, that a matter of this importance (so illustrious a proof of the relation and dependance between these two Religions!) must be predicted, both by the Prophets of the *old*, and the Founder of the *new* Dispensation.

THEY both, indeed, have done it. And fully to comprehend the force and just value of their expressions was the end for which we have here deduced things from their original, and given this general view of the course and order of God's moral œconomy; on which, the sense of the prophecies relating to it must needs be determined: And without which, the several predictions of the destruction of the Temple, expressed in general terms, would be subject to cavil, as, in themselves implying only  
a total

a *total*, and not a *final* subversion. Whereas now, from the nature of the Dispensations, we understand that a destruction, thus foretold, necessarily implied a *final* one.

THE prophet *Isaiab*, predicting, as usual, the triumphs of the Gospel under the terms of a temporal deliverance of the *Jews* from their hostile neighbours, delivers himself in the following words: “ And in this mountain [*viz.* of *Zion*] shall the Lord of  
“ Hosts make *unto all People* a feast of fat  
“ things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat  
“ things full of marrow, of wines on the  
“ lees well refined. And he will destroy in  
“ this mountain *the face of the covering cast*  
“ *over all people, and the veil that is spread*  
“ *over all nations.* He will *swallow up*  
“ *death in victory*.” And to shew, that some great event in a remote and future age was the principal object of his prophecy, he introduces it with this song of triumph; “ O Lord, thou art my God, I  
“ I will exalt thee, I will praise thy name;  
“ for thou hast done wonderful things; *thy*  
“ *counsels of old are Faithfulness and Truth*.”  
*i. e.* What thou hast originally decreed, thou

\* Ch xxv. 6, 7, 8.

† Isa. xxv. 1.

wilt.

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wilt, in the latter ages, bring to pass. Therefore having, in the *sixth* verse, enigmatically described that salvation which should arise from mount *Zion*; in the *seventh*, he more openly intimates the abolition of the Temple-worship, by the figure of destroying that *veil*, which, at the crucifixion of the Lord of life, the Evangelist informs us, *was rent in twain from the top to the bottom*; called by the Prophet, from the confined nature of the *Jewish* religion, the veil that hid truth from the nations. In this sense St. *Paul* appears to have understood the prophecy; for he applies the concluding words to the last triumph of Christ over *Death*<sup>s</sup>.

CONFORMABLY to these ideas, *Jesus* says to the woman of *Samaria*,—"Believe me, "the hour cometh, when ye shall neither "in this mountain, nor yet at *Jerusalem*, "worship the Father.—But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth<sup>h</sup>." And to secure the honour of this great event, Providence had decreed that the City and Temple of *Jerusa-*

<sup>s</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 54.

<sup>h</sup> John iv. 21—23.



*Jerusalem* should be destroyed; of which the Angel informs *Daniel* in the following words: "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the *City* and the *Sanctuary*; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war *desolations* are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of *abominations*, he shall make it *desolate*, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the *desolate*." In which we see a plain and circumstantial description of the overthrow of the *City* and *Temple* by the *Romans* under *Titus*. *Jesus* foretells the then approaching event in the following manner: "And when *Jesus* was come near, he beheld the *City*, and wept over it, saying—The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with

<sup>1</sup>Dan. ix. 26, 27.

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“ the ground, and thy children within thee ;  
 “ and they shall not leave in thee one stone  
 “ upon another <sup>k</sup>.” Two other Evangelists<sup>l</sup>  
 inform us, “ that *Jesus* went out, and  
 “ departed from the *Temple* ; and his Dis-  
 “ ciples came to him for to shew him the  
 “ buildings of the temple. And *Jesus* said  
 “ unto them, See ye not all these things ?  
 “ Verily, I say unto you, there shall not be  
 “ left here one stone upon another, that  
 “ shall not be thrown down.” And when  
 the disciples *privately* asked him *when these*  
*things should be*, he answered, *When ye shall*  
*see the abomination of desolation spoken of by*  
*Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place ;*  
 referring to the prophecy quoted above.  
 Hitherto we see a total destruction indefi-  
 nitely predicted. The following passage  
 of St. *Luke's* Gospel marks the fixed dura-  
 tion of it. “ And *Jerusalem* (says *Jesus*)  
 “ shall be trodden down of the *Gentiles*,  
 “ until the times of the *Gentiles* be fulfil-  
 “ led <sup>m</sup>.” But, of the period here meant,  
 commentators differ: Some, as *Hammond*;  
 suppose it reaches no lower than till the  
 empire became Christian: others, as Dr.

<sup>k</sup> Luke xix. 41. 43, 44.  
 Mark xiii. 1, 2. 14.

<sup>l</sup> Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Luke xxi. 24.

*S. Clarke*, that it extends to the future conversion of the *Jews*.

AMIDST this uncertainty, arising from the general expressions of these prophecies considered alone, the only way of coming to the truth, *i. e.* to know whether they mean a *final* destruction, or, if not, what sort of restoration; and when it is to succeed; the only way, I say, is to recur to what hath been discoursed above, concerning the *nature* of the TWO DISPENSATIONS; In which we have shewn, that *Christianity* and the *Temple-worship* cannot subsist together: And so must conclude, that these Prophecies foretell not only the *total*, but the *final* destruction of the *Jewish* Temple.

AND now, What are we to conclude from all this, to the case in hand?—It is evident, a *repugnancy* in the co-existence of Judaism and Christianity, would require God's interposition to prevent the restoration of the Temple: it is as evident, a *Prophecy* of its *final* destruction would do the same. *Either* of these facts therefore being sufficient to establish our point, so much discourse had not been employed on *Both*, had they stood independent of one another. But the *Pro-*

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*phesies*



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*phesies* being *so* delivered, as to be of themselves ambiguous, there was a necessity of calling-in the *nature* of God's Dispensations, to explain their precise meaning; which would, then, reciprocally support what we infer from the different *genius* of the two Religions.

If it be asked (as there is now no secret in the counsels of God but what audacious man will demand a reason of) "Why the *final* destruction of the Temple was so doubtfully delivered, that there was need of our having recourse to the nature and genius of the two Dispensations, to comprehend the full meaning of the Prophecy;" I answer, in general, that it seems very irreverent, when God hath clearly made known his Will to us, to cavil with his Wisdom, for not doing it in that way which to us may seem the most direct and simple. But, in this case it happens, we see great *ends* obtained, by the very *way* he hath been pleased to use. For by obliging us to have recourse to the nature of his *Dispensations*, in order to ascertain the full meaning of his *Prophecies*, he hath put us under the necessity of having always in view a circumstance  
of

of great moment, which we might otherwise be apt to forget ; a circumstance which impresseth on us the strongest ideas of the divine wisdom. Had the abolition of Judaism, on the establishment of Christianity, been only *expedient*, and not *necessary*, as even in that case we may be assured it had been in God's counsel never to suffer the Temple to be rebuilt, so we may well believe that the revelation of this counsel by Prophecy, had been in the express terms of a *final* destruction ; because, from the *expediency* only of an abolition, general terms could never lead us to conclude the predicted destruction to be *final*. But now as the abolition was *necessary*, that alone would suffice to fix the precise meaning of general terms. And as the use of general terms would oblige us to have recourse to those circumstances on which the necessity was founded, and the constant view of those circumstances is highly useful for religious purposes, therefore were general terms very wisely employed.

It may perhaps be further objected,  
 " That the reasons here given for the necessity of abolishing Judaism, on the coming

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of Christianity, reach no farther than to a  
*virtual* abolition: whereas it is an *actual*  
abolition only that can serve our purpose."

To this I reply, That the abolition of a  
preparatory religion, on the appearance of  
that which was to follow, is not a matter  
of every day's experience. There is but  
this one instance in the world, and never  
will be another. Let us divest ourselves,  
therefore, of all those common notions we  
form from analogies, and we shall see that  
reason leads us to expect an *actual* abolition.  
Indeed, according to our ideas of the gene-  
ral nature of Religion, an *actual* abolition  
could not be certainly had, without a force  
upon free-will; hence, in such cases, a  
*virtual* abolition is all we are to expect:  
and, from a consideration of the general  
nature of religion, we are misled into this  
objection. But the Religion in question  
was of a peculiar kind. The *essential part*  
of it was a *local worship*. This might be  
*actually* abolished without any force upon  
the will. When therefore an abolition was  
*foretold*, and the *necessity* of it seen, must  
we not conclude such a one to be meant?  
On the whole, a *virtual* abolition of *cir-*  
*cumcision,*



*cumcision, purification, distinction of meats, &c.* which regarded particulars directly, and the body, only obliquely, was all that could be expected : but the nature of things seems to require an *actual* abolition of what concerned only the body as such ; which was the *Temple-worship*. To these many other reasons might be added, such as the apparent necessity of shewing, that this nation was no longer God's *peculiar* ; which could hardly be done while they were in possession of a worship, that was the characteristic mark of God's *peculiarity* : And such as the transferring the Kingship of the *Jews* from God to *Christ* ; which would not appear to be done while the Temple-worship, the specific Act of allegiance, was in being. There are various considerations besides of equal weight. But we may seem perhaps to have already exceeded the proportion that the parts of this Discourse should bear to one another.

AND yet I am tempted to make one observation more, which, I hope, the importance of the subject will excuse.

THE Prophecy of *Jesus*, concerning the approaching destruction of *Jerusalem* by

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*Titus*, is conceived in such high and swelling terms, that not only the modern Interpreters, but the ancient likewise, have supposed that our Lord interweaves into it a direct prediction of his second coming to Judgment. Hence arose a current opinion in *those* times, that the consummation of all things was at hand; which hath afforded a handle to an infidel objection in *these*, insinuating that *Jesus*, in order to keep his Followers attached to his service, and patient under sufferings, flattered them with the near approach of those rewards which completed all their views and expectations. To which, the Defenders of Religion have opposed this answer, That the distinction of short and long, in the duration of time, is lost in Eternity; and, with the Almighty, *a thousand years are but as yesterday, &c.*

BUT the Principle both go upon is false; and if what hath been said be duly weighed, it will appear, that this Prophecy doth not respect God's *second* coming to Judgment but his *first*; in the abolition of the *Jewish* Policy, and the ESTABLISHMENT of the *Christian*: That *Kingdom of Christ*, which commenced on the total ceasing of the  
the

the *Theocracy*. For as God's reign over the *Jews* entirely ended with the abolition of the *Temple-service*, so the reign of *Christ*, in spirit and in truth, had then its first beginning.

THIS was the true ESTABLISHMENT of Christianity, not that effected by the *donations* or *conversions* of *Constantine*. Till the *Jewish Law* was abolished, over which the *Father* presided as King, the reign of the *Son* could not take place; because the sovereignty of *Christ* over mankind, was that very sovereignty of God over the *Jews*, transferred, and more largely extended.

THIS therefore being one of the most important æras in the œconomy of Grace; and the most awful Revolution in all God's religious Dispensations; we see the elegance and propriety of the terms in question, to denote so great an Event, together with the *destruction of Jerusalem*, by which it was effected: For in the old prophetic Language<sup>a</sup> the change and fall of principalities and powers, whether *spiritual* or *civil*, are signified by the shaking Heaven and Earth; the darkening the Sun and Moon,

<sup>a</sup> See the *Div. Leg.* Vol. II.



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and the falling of the Stars ; as the rise and establishment of *new ones* are by processions in the clouds of Heaven, by the sound of Trumpets, and the assembling together of Hosts and Congregations °.

THUS much, therefore, being premised, we enter directly on our Subject ; it being now seen, that the truth of Christianity must stand or fall with the ruin or the restoration of the Temple at *Jerusalem* ; for if that Temple should be rebuilt for the purpose of *Jewish* worship, Christianity could not support its pretensions ; nor the *Prophets*, nor *Jesus*, the truth of their predictions.

CHAP. II.

THERE was a time when the *Powers of this world* were all opposed to the progress of the *Gospel* ; and as they continued thus opposed for some Ages, it would have been a miracle, as rare as most of those by which it was supported, if, amongst the various attempts to suppress and discredit it, there had not been a project formed to give

° Matt. ch. xxiv.

the

the lye to those Prophecies which denounced lasting ruin and desolation to the *Jewish Temple*.

THE first attempt upon Christianity was such as was most natural to this *Power*, the suppressing it by brutal force : and the subjection of the whole World to the despotic will of one blind Persecutor, gave that force its utmost moment. The violence of its effort was TEN times repeated ; and as often, by the blood of the martyrs, victoriously repelled.

THOUGH this may be justly reckoned amongst the marks of its divinity, yet it must be owned, that brutal force was not the most artful or dangerous way of procuring the ruin even of what they thought it, a mere human contrivance. The utmost which force can do (and that it often fails in) is to stop the progress of a Profession : while the same advantages of power, employed towards a rational conviction of its falsehood, proceed more fatally to its subversion. But this method of attack required a comprehensive knowledge of human Nature, and of the Doctrines to be suppressed.

FEW

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FEW of the persecuting Emperors had either. *M. Antoninus* had the one; *Julian* only, who closed the scene, had both. Till his time, the sole engine was simple force. *Antonine* himself<sup>p</sup> used no other. And yet his knowledge of men might have

<sup>p</sup> The very learned Mr. Moyle says, *it was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen the Christians, to be persecuted by so great and good a man.* *Posth. Works, Vol. II. p. 274.* We shall know what to think of this observation, when we have considered how the case stood with the persecuting Emperors. In this class we find, on the one side, *Nero, Domitian, and the Maximiani*; on the other, *Trajan, the Antonines, and Valerian.* Had the persecutors been all like *those*, the Deists would have said, "no wonder that force and violence had failed to root out the Christian sect, when conducted by such monsters, as were hated both by Gods and Men." Had the Persecutors, on the contrary, been all like the *latter*, the Deists would then have said, "that the Christian practice must have been very wrong, or the imposture of their pretences very evident, to provoke the resentment of Emperors so mild and wise." But to see them persecuted indifferently, by good and bad, reduces the enemies of Religion to silence upon this topic; and is enough to convince unprejudiced men, that the care of Providence was employed to shew, that matters very foreign to the merits of the case, set this violent machine a-going; whose issue, it was decreed, should convince the world that all its power was weakness, when opposed to the eternal counsels of God.

shewn



shewn him the folly of so unmanly a proceeding. But then he knew no more of Christianity than the most ignorant of his Courtiers. Philosophy, which should have led him to enquire into a Religion that all were running eagerly to embrace, was the very thing that restrained his curiosity. For *Stoical* pride (of which sect he was) would confess no need of the knowledge of falsehood to perfect its followers in truth; It despised the oblique genius of the *Academy*, which made all truth to depend on the knowledge and detection of falsehood.

JULIAN was the first who got enough acquainted with the Gospel to apply such arms against it as must have ended in its ruin, had it been nothing more than what he affected to think it, a human invention. And here we shall be forced to confess, that Providence seems to have raised up this extraordinary man on set purpose to do the last honours to the Religion of *Jesus*; to shew the world what *human power*, with all its advantages united, was able to oppose to its establishment. For we find in this Emperor all the great qualities that a Projector could conceive, or an Adversary would require,

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quire, to secure success to so daring an opposition. He was eloquent and liberal; artful, insinuating, and indefatigable; which joined to a severe temperance, an affected love of justice, and a courage superior to all trials, first gained him the affections, and, soon after, the peaceable possession of the whole Empire.

HE was bred up in the Christian religion from his infancy: and was obliged to profess it (or at least to disguise his passion<sup>a</sup> for Paganism) to the time he assumed the purple. His aversion to his uncle *Constantine*, and his cousin *Constantius*, for the cruelties exercised on his family, had prejudiced him against the Christian religion; and his attachment to some *Platonic* Sophists, who had been employed in his education, gave him as violent a bias towards Paganism. He was ambitious; and Paganism, in some of its Thëurgic rites, had flattered and encouraged his views of the Diadem: He was vain, which made him aspire to the glory of re-establishing the ancient Rites: He was extremely knowing, and

<sup>a</sup> A rudimentis pueritiæ primis inclinatio erat erga numinum cultum, paullatimque adulescens desiderio rei flagrabat. Am. Marc. l. xxii. c. 5.

fond of *Grecian* literature ; the very soul of which, in his opinion<sup>r</sup>, was the old Theology : But above all, notwithstanding a considerable mixture of enthusiasm<sup>s</sup>, his Superstition was excessive, and what nothing, but the blood of *Hecatombs*, could appease.

WITH these dispositions he came to the Empire ; and, consequently, with a determined purpose of subverting the Christian, and restoring the Pagan Worship. His predecessors had left him the repeated experience of the inefficacy of downright force. The *virtue* of the *past* times then rendered this effort fruitless ; the *numbers* of the *present* would have now made it dangerous. He found it necessary therefore to change his ground : His knowlege of human Nature furnished him with arms ; and his knowledge of the Faith he had abandoned, enabled him to direct those arms to most advantage.

He began with re-establishing Paganism by Law<sup>t</sup>, and granting a full liberty of

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Ep. Jul. xlii.

<sup>s</sup> Οὗτος [Ἰουλιανὸς] ὁ ἐν τελευταῖς μυρίαῖς ὁμιλήσας Δαίμοσιν.—Libanii Or. de ulc. Juliani nece.

<sup>t</sup> Planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque  
conscience



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conscience to the Christians. On this principle, he restored those to their civil rights, of what party soever, who had been banished on account of Religion; and even affected to reconcile, to a mutual forbearance, the various sects of Christianity. Yet notwithstanding, his own Historian assures us, he put on this mask of moderation and equity, for no other purpose than to inflame the dissensions in the Church<sup>u</sup>. And his subsequent conduct fully justifies the historian's observation.

He then fined and banished<sup>w</sup> such of the more popular Clergy as had abused their power, either in exciting the People to burn and destroy pagan Temples, or to commit violence on an opposite Sect. And it cannot be denied, but that their turbulent

hostias admoveri ad deorum statuit cultum. Am. Mar. l. xxii. c. 5.

<sup>u</sup> Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intromissos monebat, ut, civilibus discordiis confopitis, quisque, nullo vetante, religioni suæ serviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones, augente licentia, non timeret unanimantem postea plebem. *Idem* ib.

<sup>w</sup> Nazian. Orat. i. cont. Jul.

and

and insolent manners deserved all the severity of his justice<sup>x</sup>.

HE proceeded to revoke and take away those immunities, honours, and revenues<sup>y</sup>, which his unclé and cousin had granted to the Clergy. Neither was his pretence for this altogether unreasonable. He judged the grants to be exorbitant; and besides, as they were attendant on a *national Religion*, when the *establishment* came to be transferred from Christianity to Paganism, he concluded they must follow the Religion of the State. But there was one immunity he took away, which no good policy, even under an establishment, should have granted them; which was an exemption<sup>z</sup> from the civil *Tribunals*.

THE Apostate went still further; he disqualified the Christian laity for bearing office in the State: and even this, the security

<sup>x</sup> See the learned and respectable Mr. Archdeacon Law's very ingenious Discourse, *Of the several Dispensations of revealed Religion*, p. 174. 1st Edit.

<sup>y</sup> Κληρικὸς μέντοι, πᾶσαν ἀτέλειαν ἢ τιμὴν ἢ τὰ σιτηρέσια ἀφείλετο Κωνσταντῖν [Κωνσταντῖν Val.] Soz. l. v. c. 5.

Τοῖς βυλευητοῖς ἀπιδώκει. Soz. l. v. c. 5.

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of the established Religion may often require.

BUT his most illiberal treatment of the Christians, was his forbidding the Professors, who were of that Religion, to teach *Humanity* and the sciences, in the public Schools. His more immediate design, in this, was to hinder the Youth from taking impressions to the disadvantage of Paganism: His remoter view, to deprive Christianity of the support of human literature<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This Edict is to be found amongst the works of *Julian*; and goes under the name of his xlii<sup>d</sup> Epistle. It forbids the Christian Professors to *teach* human literature. But because the Ancients, such as *Gregory Naz. Socrates, Sozomene, Theodoret, and Rufinus* expressly say, that he forbad Christians to *learn* it; some modern critics have embarrassed themselves in according this imaginary difference. *Baronius*, and *Valesius*, who could not find it was forbid, by this Edict, to *learn*, concluded there was no such prohibition. *Tillemont* and *Fleuri* will not allow the Fathers to be mistaken; and therefore imagine there was another Edict, which extended the prohibition to the case in question. *Tillemont* supposes this the more readily, because he thinks the xlii<sup>d</sup> letter is indefinite and obscure. It appears to me very clear and precise; and it seems strange none of these critics saw, that, as this prohibition is circumstanced in the Edict, the not being allowed to *learn* was the necessary



NOT content with this, he endeavoured even to destroy what was already written in

consequence of being forbid to *teach*. For the Professors are not only disallowed to explain Pagan authors to *Pagan* auditories, but to *Christian* likewise; as appears from the following words, *But if they* [the Christian Professors] *think these authors give a false and unworthy account of the tremendous majesty of the Immortals, let them go and explain Matthew and Luke in the churches of the Galileans.* εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τιμιωτάτας ὑπολαμβάνουσι πεπλανηθῆναι, βαδίζόντων εἰς τὰς τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἐκκλησίας, ἐξηγησόμενοι Ματθαῖον καὶ Λυκᾶν. But why was this said, if they were at liberty to teach the Christian youth the sciences? If they were not, Where could they go for Instruction but to the schools of the pagan Professors? Hither, indeed, they are invited by the Edict itself. *Those of the* [Christian] *youth* (says Julian) *who are desirous of frequenting* [the schools of the pagan Professors] *are by no means to be excluded.* Ὁ βελλόμενος τῶν νέων Φοιτῶν, ἐκ ἀποκένλειται. This was kind: but would by no means be accepted. Here the bait was half off the hook; and discovered, that to draw them thither was one end of the Edict: which he imagined would necessarily reduce things to this state, either to dispose the *Galileans*, during their youth, in favour of Paganism; or to disable them in their adult age, to defend Christianity. So that it appears, from hence, his forbidding Christian professors to *explain* Pagan writers to any audience whatsoever, fully amounted to a prohibition of *learning* them. The Fa-

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 defence of Christianity. With this view  
 he wrote to *Ecdicius* the governor of *Egypt*,  
 and to *Porphyry* the treasurer-general, to  
 collect up, and send to him the library <sup>b</sup> of  
*George* bishop of *Alexandria*, who for his  
 cruelty and tyranny had been torn in pieces  
 by the People.

thers, we see, did not scruple directly to affirm it. And  
 that they believed it, appears from their finding no other  
 way of avoiding the dilemma of *corruption*, or *ignorance*,  
 than by composing Epic poems, Tragedies, and other  
 classic compositions upon a Christian plan, and on sub-  
 jects taken from sacred story. This circumstance (had  
*Baronius* and *Valesius* attended to it) was alone suffi-  
 cient to shew them, that the Fathers have told us no  
 more than what they saw and felt, when they said, that  
*Julian* forbad them to *learn* human literature, as well as  
 to *teach* it. Let me add, that nothing but this inter-  
 pretation of his Edict can account for the severe censure  
 which his own Historian, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, passes  
 upon it, in the following words, “ illud autem erat in-  
 “ clemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat  
 “ docere Magistros Rhetoricos et Grammaticos, ritus  
 “ Christiani cultores.” Lib. xxii. c. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. ix. and xxxvi. — πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν φιλόσοφα  
 παρ' αὐτῶν, πολλὰ δὲ ῥητορικά, πολλὰ δὲ ἦν καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 δυναστῶν Γαλιλαίων διδασκαλίας, ἃ βελομένη μὲν  
 ἤφαινόθαι πάντῃ. Ep. ix.

NAY,

NAY, to such a length did his aversion to the name of CHRIST carry him, as to decree, by a public Edict, that his followers should be no longer called Christians, but *Galileans*<sup>c</sup>. Not but there might be a mixture of policy in it too, as knowing the efficacy of a *nick-name* to render a profession ridiculous. However, it is more than probable, superstition had its share in this unprincely Edict. The fanatic Platonists, to whom *Julian* had entirely given himself up, were much besotted with the mysterious power of *Names*. These having been struck with the wonders performed by the name of *Christ*, and finding so many difficulties oppose themselves to their Master's exterminating scheme, might well fancy there was a certain *Charm* in the Word *Christian*, which rendered the Religion, so denominated, invincible. And this seems to be the ground *Gregory Naz.* went upon (if he had any) for saying, that the reason of this extraordinary Law might be, that *Julian* trembled at the name of *Christ*, just as

<sup>c</sup> Γαλιλαίους ἀντὶ Χριστιανῶν ὀνομάσας τε ἢ καλεῖσθαι νομοθετήσας. *Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. cont. Jul.*



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the *Demons* did, who suffered torments as often as they heard it pronounced <sup>d</sup>.

A MAN so transported by a train of the most ungoverned passions, we may well suppose, would stop at no means, how low and vile soever, to carry on his project. His Letters afford us an instance of one so dishonourable, that no testimony but his own could make it credible. *Titus*, bishop of *Bosra*, and his Clergy, in an address presented to *Julian*, acquaint him with their care in keeping the flock committed to them (then equal in number to the Pagans) in due obedience to the laws. The return *Julian* makes for this act of duty, is to acquaint the people of *Bosra*, that their bishop was become their delator; that he had represented them as prone to sedition, and even capable of the last excesses, but that he and his Clergy kept them in order. For this crime therefore, which he calls the taking to himself

<sup>d</sup> ἡ φοβούμενος γε τὴν δύναμιν τῆς προσηγορίας, ὥστε οἱ δαίμονες. καὶ διὰ τῆτο μελαβαίνων ἐφ' ἕτερον ὄνομα τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων, οὐδὲ γνωρίμων. Orat. iii.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν δαίμονες φρίττουσιν εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν Χριστοῦ καλεμένου, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῇ κακίας ἡμῶν ἐξίτηλος γέγονεν ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος τέτις δυνάμεις. Orat. i.

the

the merit of the People's good behaviour, he advises them to expel the Bishop from their city<sup>e</sup>.

AFTER this, no instance of baseness or injustice will be thought strange. On pretence that the Arian church of *Edeffa* was too rich, and had not used the *Valentinians* with temper, he seized on every thing belonging to it, and divided the plunder amongst his soldiers. And, to add the bitterness of contumely to his injustice, he told them he did it to ease them of their burthens, that they might proceed more lightly, and with less impediment in their journey to Heaven<sup>f</sup>.

BUT *Socrates*, the Historian, tells us, that he imposed a tax or tribute, proportioned to every man's circumstances, on all who

\* Ep. lii. Βασεννοῖς. It is remarkable, that the Author of the *Characteristics*, in his *third Vol. of Misc. Ref.* hath given us a translation of this Letter, for a pattern, as he tells us, of the humour and genius, of the principle and sentiments, of this virtuous, gallant, generous, and mild Emperor, p. 87, & seq. 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. It is true, his translation drops the affair of *Titus*, their Bishop. So that nothing hinders his Reader from concluding but that the Emperor might be as gallant and generous as he is pleased to represent him.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. xliii. Επησόλω.

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would not sacrifice <sup>g</sup>. This was persecution  
in form: And yet he did not stop here, but  
proceeded to still greater extremities.

THOUGH he did not persecute to death  
by Laws, that being directly contrary to his  
Edicts of toleration, which he had with so  
much ostentation, and frequency repeated;  
yet he connived at the *fury* of the People,  
and the *brutality* of the Governors of pro-  
vinces; who, during his short reign, brought  
many martyrs to the stake. For he put  
such into Governments, whose inhumanity  
and blind zeal for their country-superstitions  
were most distinguished. And when the suf-  
fering Churches presented their complaints  
to him, he dismissed them with cruel scoffs;  
telling them<sup>h</sup>, their Religion directed them  
to suffer without murmuring. So that we  
have little reason to doubt what the Anci-  
ents<sup>i</sup> say of his declared intention (had he

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 13.

<sup>h</sup> Greg. Naz. i. Orat. cont. Jul, Socrat. Eccl. Hist.  
l. iii. c. 14.

<sup>i</sup> Gr. Naz. ii. Orat. contr. Jul. Ruff. Eccl. Hist.  
l. i. c. 36. How well all this agrees with what the Au-  
thor of the *Characteristics* says of *Julian*, in the follow-  
ing words, I leave the admirers of that noble writer to  
determine, [*Julian*] was a great Restrainer of Persecu-  
returned



returned victorious from the *Persian* war) to subject the whole Christian world to the honestest persecution of fire and sword<sup>k</sup>.

THESE were the efforts of the Emperor *Julian* to overturn Christianity. However he took care to avoid the absurdity of our modern Apostates, who are for abolishing the Faith in which, like him, they have been bred, without substituting any other Religion in its stead. *Julian's* attempts to destroy Christianity did not precede, but went hand in hand with his projects to support and reform Paganism.

HE wrote and he *preached* in person, in defence of Gentile superstition: and has

*tion, and would allow of nothing further than a Resumption of Church-lands and publick Schools; without any attempt on the goods or persons, even of those who branded the State religion, and made a merit of affronting the public Worship.* Vol. I. p. 25. 4<sup>th</sup> Edit.

<sup>k</sup> What his creature and confident *Libanius* tells us, as part of his panegyric, makes this account of the Christian writers very credible. He says that *Julian* took up arms against *Constantius*, to restore the pagan Religion. Οὗτος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑβρισμένων ἱερῶν σεναῶν μὲν ἕως τῶν ἐξῆν μόνον, ὅπλων δὲ ἀψάμενος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οὗτος παρῆν. *De Ulcis. Juliani nece.*

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 himself acquainted us with the ill success of  
 his Ministry <sup>1</sup>. Of his controversial writ-  
 ings, his answerer *Cyril* hath given us a large  
 specimen ; by which we see he was equal-  
 ly intent to recommend Paganism and to  
 discredit Revelation.

HIS reformation of gentile Superstition  
 turned upon these points, 1. To hide the  
 absurdity of its traditions by moral and phi-  
 losophic allegories <sup>m</sup>. These he found pro-  
 vided to his hands, principally, by philoso-  
 phers of his own sect, the Platonists, Who,  
 not without the assistance of the other sects  
 of Theists, had, ever since the appearance  
 of Christianity, been refining the Theology  
 of Paganism, to oppose it to that of Re-  
 velation ; under pretence, That their new-in-  
 vented allegories were the ancient *spirit* of  
 the *letter*, which the first poetical divines  
 had conveyed down, in this envelope, to

<sup>1</sup> — εἰς τὴν Βέρροϊαν ἐπορευόμεν — Διελέχθην δὲ  
 ὀλίγα τῇ βελῇ περὶ Θεοσεβείας, ἀλλὰ τὰς λόγους ἐπὶ ἡν  
 μὲν ἅπαντες. ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγοι πάνυ, καὶ  
 ἔτι οἱ. ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἰδοῦν ἔχειν ὑγιῶς, ἐλά-  
 βοντο δὲ ὥσπερ παρρησίας ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ  
 ἀποθέσθαι. Ep. xxvii. Λιβανίου Σοφιστῆ.

<sup>m</sup> See his Discourse composed in honour of the *Mother*  
*of the Gods.*

posterity.

posterity. A noble design! of which some *Letters*, lately published, concerning *Mythology*, will give the reader a very tolerable idea.

2. He then attempted to correct the morals of the *Pagan* priesthood, and regulate their manners on the practice of the first *Christians*. In his *Epistle to Arsacius*, he not only requires of them a personal behaviour void of offence; but that they reform their household on the same principle: He directs that they who attend at the altar should abstain from the theatre, the tavern, and the exercise of all ignoble professions: That in their private character they be meek and humble; but that, in the acts and offices of religion, they assume a character conformable to the majesty of the immortal Gods, whose ministers they are. But above all he recommends to them the virtues of charity and benevolence<sup>n</sup>.

WITH regard to Discipline and Religious policy, *Nazianzene* and *Sozomene* tell us, he had planned an establishment for Readers in

<sup>n</sup> Ep. xlix. Ἀρεσάνῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαλατίας. Fragmentum Orationis Epistolæve.



Divinity; for the order and parts of the divine offices; for a regular and formal service, with days and hours of worship; that he had decreed to found hospitals for the poor, monasteries for the devout, and to prescribe and enjoin initiatory and expiatory rites, with a course of instruction for converts, and of penance for offenders; and in all things to imitate the Church discipline of that time°.

## C H A P. III.

**B**UT the indifference and corruptions of Paganism, joined to the inflexibility and perseverance of the Christians, kept his project from advancing with that speed which his malice as well as zeal demanded. So that, impatient of delay, he struck out a new and daring project to alter the whole face of things at once. With this view he planned the famous scheme of rebuilding the TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. Its final destruction had been foretold both by *Jesus* and the Prophets: and it was, as he imagin-

° Greg. Naz. i. Orat. cont. Jul. Sozom. l. v. c. 16.  
ed,

ed, reserved for this favorite of the Gods<sup>p</sup>, to give the lye to their predictions.

HE had before (in pursuance of his general scheme of opposing Revelation to itself, by setting one sect against another) written to the Body or Community of the *Jews*<sup>q</sup>, in which he assured them of his protection; his concern for their former ill

<sup>p</sup> His confident, *Libanius*, compliments him on his close communion with the Gods, and on the familiar intercourse with which they honoured him. This he speaks of as a peculiar favour, as indeed it was, both to *hear* and *see* them. — Καὶ μόνος σὺ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐργασίας μορφᾶς ἰσθαίμων ἰσθαίμωνων θεωρῶς, ἢ μόνῳ σοὶ Φωνῆς Θεῶν ὑπῆρξεν ἀκοῦσαι. *Legat. ad Julian.* This was doubtless at an *Initiation*; for *Libanius* informs us, in another place quoted above, that *Julian* had been joined in communion with Demons in all the *Mysteries*. Of one of these *Initiations*, *Gregory*, in his first oration against *Julian*, tells a remarkable story; that as he descended into the initiating cave, he was terrified with the visions that passed before him [see the account of the *Mysteries* in the *Div. Leg.*] which, on his making the sign of the Cross, fled and disappeared. I think this not incredible; for the sign of the Cross was then the common security against all sudden and unusual terrors; and whatever the Demons did, the priests certainly did not like it. How they turned this farce to their advantage, in the present case, may be seen in *Gregory*.

<sup>q</sup> Ἰσθαίων τῷ κοινῷ.

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usage; and his fixed purpose to screen them from future oppression, that they might be at liberty, and in a disposition to redouble their vows for the prosperity of his reign. And concluded with a promise, that, if he came back victorious from the *Persian* war, he would rebuild *Jerusalem*, restore them to their possessions, live with them in the holy City, and join with them in their worship of the Great God of the universe<sup>r</sup>.

So that, after this, a proposal of beginning with the *Temple*, we may well think, would be eagerly embraced by them. Till this was rebuilt, their Religion, as we have seen, was in a state of inanition; Sacrifices, which were essential to it, being forbid to be offered in any other place. Hence the *Jews* had attempted, more than once, to restore it, in defiance of the Power to

Καλενθυῶναι τὴν βασιλεῖαν ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα, καθ' ἃπερ προαιρέμεθα, ὅπερ καὶ ποιῶν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμον διορθωσάμεθα, τὴν ἐν πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὀπιθυμημένην παρ' ὑμῖν ἰδεῖν οἰκωμένην πόλιν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἡμοῖς καμάρτοις ἀνοικοδομήσας οἰκήσω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξαν δώσω μεθ' ὑμῶν τῷ κρείττονι. Ερ. xxv.

which



which they were subject; first, in the reign of *Adrian*, and afterwards, under that of *Constantine*: but reasons of state defeated the former attempt; and reasons of religion, the latter. *Adrian* regarded and punished it as a rebellion; *Constantine*, as an impiety. They were now invited, as good subjects and faithful worshipers of the true God, to second the Emperor's design in restoring them to their city and religion.

BUT here if any one should ask, how it appears that *Julian* had the purpose we accuse him of? we shall refer him to the whole plan of *Julian's* conduct for an answer. For men's purposes are best declared by their Actions. He had formed a design to ruin Christianity. He had played off the round of his Machines to no purpose; and was got by due degrees, to this; the only battery that was left untried. He had strove in vain to weaken its influence; he would now, as his last effort, attack its pretensions: and his knowledge of the two Religions enabled him to chuse his ground to advantage. This is the utmost evidence the case will afford. For sure no man can be so absurd to imagine, that *Julian* (even on the supposition of the

\* Chrysost. advers. Judæos, passim.

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fact) would proclaim his purpose by edict,  
or, what was the same thing, would tell it  
at Court, till he had seen the issue of the  
event: though had that proved fortunate,  
we cannot doubt but the imperial Sophist  
would have descanted on his triumph over  
the *Galilean*, in all the forms of the Chan-  
cery, and in all the modes of the Schools.  
But as his project was so effectually disgraced,  
it would be still more absurd to expect, that  
either he, or any of his band of sophists,  
should be forward to divulge the secret to  
the world. Indeed, their shyness in menti-  
oning the *disaster at Jerusalem*, when their  
subject requires it, and the affected disguise  
they throw over it, when they cannot avoid  
it, are, to me, the strongest proofs of some  
conscious guilt, or severe mortification.

BUT the *Christians* of that time saw no  
cause to defer accusing *Julian* of this  
*purpose*, till he himself should think fit to  
confess it; and, therefore, they, with one  
voice, proclaim it, and charge it on him  
without scruple or hesitation. And the  
Church was too attentive to his motions  
to be the dupe of his professions, in any  
thing that concerned Religion. The RUIN-  
ED TEMPLE was the trophy of Christ's  
victory over his Enemies; so that a project  
to

to restore it, could not but give them the alarm. They collected, as we do now, (but with far better opportunities of so doing) what was *Julian's real purpose*, from his general character, and his particular behaviour towards them. Nor is it unlikely but they might get further intelligence from something dropt by his confidants, the *Sophists*, a people vain and talkative, and, at no time renowned for secrecy.

THUS much is certain, that the Christian writers are unanimous in what they say of *Julian's* motive: and seem to be so well assured of it's not being brought in question, that they generally content themselves with calling it indefinitely, *a pernicious project, destructive of Christianity*. But *Sozomene* goes further, and assures us, that not only

Τέλος ἐπαφῆκε καὶ τὸ Ἰσρααλίτων φύλον ἡμῶν — Καὶ ἀπακρυπλόμενον ἐννοίας πλάσματος ἢ ἐπίνοιαν — *Greg. Naz.* — Καὶ κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς Χριστιανούς ἐλάπλεν σπουδάζων — *Socr.* Διετέλει καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐσεβείας — Καὶ τοὺς Ἰσρααίους καθώπλισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων — *Theodor.* — Ὅτι προσάξας Φησὶ Ἰουλιανὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνοικοδομηθεῖσθαι, ὡς ἀνταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν δεσποτικὰς προρρήσεις ἀκέρους ἐλέγχει. *Philost.* apud *Photium.*

*Julian*



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*Julian*, but all the Gentiles, who assisted in it, pushed it forward upon that very motive; and for the sake of *that*, suspended their aversion to the *Jewish Nation* \*. For an aversion they always had, and that, no small one, if we may credit the best pagan writers themselves.

HOWEVER this is never to be forgotten, that let *Julian's* motive be what it would, as the execution of his design must have impeached the veracity of the prophecies, there was a *necessity* for some interposition to defeat it.

BUT, besides the principal purpose of utterly discrediting the Christian name, there were other auxiliary motives to push *Julian* on to a speedy execution. He liked the *Jews* for their bloody sacrifices, to which he himself was extravagantly devoted; he liked them better for their implacable hatred to the Christians, in which he

\* Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἄλλα δεύτερα ἦν ὁ πονούμενου, βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι, καὶ πᾶσιν Ἰουδαίοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔτε Ἰουδαίοις ἐνοῶντες, ἐκοινώνουν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀπουδῆς, ὑπολαβόντες δύνασθαι κατορθοῦν τὸ ἐξήρημα, καὶ ψευδῆς ἀπειλέγξαι τῷ χριστῷ τὰς προρρήσεις. *Sozom.*

far

far outwent them; and he soothed his family revenge, in favouring those whom *Constantine* had persecuted, and persecuted for this very attempt. To which we may add that which *Marcellinus* assigns as his principal motive, the glory of atchieving so bold an enterprize<sup>w</sup>.

BUT *Julian*, who aimed at higher matters than obtaining the good-will of the *Jews*, would not intrust so important a design to their inclinations or abilities. He assumed the care of it himself; and carried on the project (as far as it was carried) under the Imperial authority. He assigned for this purpose immense sums out of the public revenue. The superintendancy of it he committed to his bosom friend, *Alypius*<sup>x</sup>; to whom he joined, for his assistant, the Governor of the province. *Alypius* was one who had been much obliged by *Julian*<sup>y</sup>,

<sup>w</sup> Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare. Am. Marc. l. iii. c. 1.

<sup>x</sup> The xxix<sup>th</sup> and xxx<sup>th</sup> Epistles of *Julian* are written to him; in the latter of which he calls him, Ἀδελφὸς ποθεινότατος καὶ φιλικώτατος.

<sup>y</sup> See the xxix<sup>th</sup> Epistle.

and for this reason, as is the nature of princes, was as much beloved by him: but their strongest tie was an equal malice, and congenial aversion to the Christian name; qualities, doubtless, for which *Alypius* was preferred before others to this employment. This man, in conjunction with the *Jews*, and under the sanction of the Imperial authority, entered upon the business. They laid in immense quantities of materials; they assembled vast numbers of workmen; the *Jews*, of both sexes, and of all degrees, bore a share in the labour: they entered upon the ruins, cleared away the rubbish, and opened the old foundations.

AN account of this attempt (to wave the testimony of Christian authors) is transmitted to us by a contemporary writer, of noble extraction, a friend and admirer of *Julian*, and his companion in arms; a man of affairs, a lover of truth, learned, candid, and impartial; qualities which rendered him the best historian of his time; who, although neither ignorant of the doctrines, nor bigotted against the followers of our Faith, yet was strongly attached to the superstition of his



his ancestors, and, in one word, a Pagan professed and declared<sup>z</sup>.

So much then the most sceptical reader must be forced to grant. To doubt of this

<sup>z</sup> As there have been critics absurd enough to suspect that *Ammianus Marcellinus* might be a Christian; it may be just worth while to quote a passage of the celebrated *Hadrian Valesius*, who, in few words, has well exposed this groundless conceit. “*Petrus Pithæus* ad latus Am-  
“*miani sui manu sua notavit, eum Christianum fuisse,*  
“*propterea quod in libro xxvii. scripsit, Antistites quos-*  
“*dam provinciales, id est, episcopos Christianorum,*  
“*parco victu, vili veste, & demissis oculis, perpetuo*  
“*numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut parcos commendari &*  
“*verecundos.* An ideo Ammianus Christianus habendus est, quòd Deum Christianorum *perpetuum numen,*  
“*id est, Deum æternum, & Christianos Antistites ve-*  
“*ros perpetui numinis cultores appellat?* Quasi non *ve-*  
“*ros perpetui numinis cultores* Ammianus vocaverat  
“*Gentiles ipsos ac sui similes, quibus quidam etiam*  
“*Christianorum episcopi in provinciis sanctitate vitæ*  
“*& verecundia commendarentur ac placerent.* Ita  
“*tamen de Ammiano sensit & Claudius Chiffletius, cum*  
“*verbis ejus supra laudatis, tum aliis levissimis conjec-*  
“*turis adductus.* Sed qui attente legerit, quæ præter  
“*cetera in fine libri xiv de Adraſti vel Nemefi, quæ*  
“*in libro xvi de Mercurio, quæ in libro xxi de nu-*  
“*mine Themidis, de Haruspicina, de Auguriis, vari-*  
“*isque artibus futura prænoſcendi, veteres Theologos*  
“*suos, & phſicos, ac myſticos ſecutus ſcripsit: pro-*  
“*fectò fateri cogetur, eum cultui Deum addictum ac*

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would be subverting the very foundations of human credit; and it might as well be que-

“devotum fuisse. Certè de Diis Gentium tanquam de  
 “suis semper loquitur; de Christianis sacris mysteriis-  
 “que non item. Nunquam Christianis se adjungit;  
 “nunquam & nusquam eorum se numero adscribit;  
 “& Julianum A. quem suum heroa fecit, hanc præci-  
 “puè ob causam mihi videtur toties & tantopère lau-  
 “dare, quod à religione Christiana ad numinum cultum  
 “desciverit. Quà tamen erat prudentiâ, adeo mo-  
 “destè atque sincerè, ac nonnumquam etiam benevolè  
 “de Christianis rebus commemorat, ut aliqui unum ex  
 “nostris putaverint. Nimirum, sicuti existimo, vir bo-  
 “nus, integer & sapiens Religionem Christianam non  
 “sequi, tuto se posse intelligebat: eandem Principibus  
 “suis acceptam & toto ferè orbe Romano diffusam  
 “palam damnare non audebat, sed & forsitan religionum  
 “diversitates non improbavit, persuasumque habuit  
 “(sicut ait De notitia Dei Symmachus) unâ viâ non  
 “posse pervenire ad tam grande secretum.” *Præf. in*  
*poster. Am. Marc. editionem.* To these a thousand other  
 proofs might be added. I shall content myself, at pre-  
 sent, with one, taken from those very words which  
*Chifflet* has given as the strongest evidence of his Chri-  
 stianity, where, speaking of *Constantius*, he says, “Chri-  
 “stianam religionem absolutam & simplicem anili su-  
 “perstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius  
 “quam componenda gravius, excitavit discidia pluri-  
 “ma; quæ progressa fusiùs aluit concertatione verbo-  
 “rum.” *Lib. xxi. cap. 16.* By these words (as the critics  
 observe) are doubtless meant those two famous party-

tioned,

tioned, whether *Cæsar* was assaulted in the Senate, as whether *Julian attempted* to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.

WHAT now was the condition of the Church at this juncture! and how were the fears of the good people alarmed! It had long combated, and at length triumphed over, the prejudices of the People, the arts of the Philosophers, and the violence of civil Power. It had bent the obstinacy of Superstition by

badges, the *ομοῖσι* and *ἰμοῖσι*. Now it seems odd, the historian should characterize a temper of mind, arising from a dispute of this kind (which has rather the appearance of a *philosophic* than a *popular* bigotry) by the name of *anilis superstitio*. On a supposition, that the censurer was a Christian, it appears very odd: But consider him as a Pagan, and nothing is more natural: He must then see this question, concerning the Son of God, in the same light he did what their *Mythology* taught concerning the paternity and filiation of their gods; which the learned amongst them ranked in the first class of their *aniles superstitiones*. It is true, *Ammianus* thought more reverently of the *Christian martyrs* than the famous philosophic Emperor had formerly done (who called their virtue a mere brutish obstinacy, *ψιλὴ ἀστάθεια*, Lib. xi. § 3.) for he says of them, — “ Qui deviāre a Religione  
“ compulsi, pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi nunc Mar-



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the superior force of miracles: It had confounded the meretricious confidence of *Grecian* Sophistry, by the simple majesty of Truth; and had wearied out the rage of tyranny, by constancy and contempt of suffering. But it was now summoned to a severer trial, and pushed upon the very crisis of its fate. Its enemies, supported by the whole power of the Empire, had brought a decisive scheme to its projection; a scheme that was to reflect eternal dishonour upon the *Oracles of Truth*. The credit of God's

"tyres appellantur." Lib. xxii. cap. 11. But *Antoninus* was entirely ignorant of the Christian religion: We have shewn above what kept him from the knowledge of it. The Historian knew it well, as appears from the character he gives it, of *absoluta & simplex*; and the dying in defence of such a religion could not but be, in his opinion, *mors gloriosa*: he being, as appears throughout his history, a *religious Theist*, and untainted with the *Naturalism* of *Tacitus*; for Christianity had produced this good effect in the quarter of its enemies, that it had entirely discredited the schools of *Sirato* and *Epicurus*, as *Julian* himself informs us. *Ammianus*, then, was a Pagan, if his religion may be gathered from the reflections he makes upon his facts. It is true, this way of reasoning cannot be safely applyed to any but to an original Writer of History. Compilers and Abbreviators of other Men's Works are not supposed to have any sense of their own; they take their Colours, like the

Servants,

Servants, the authority of his Word, and the very pretensions of Revelation, were all vitally interested in the event. The long struggle between SUPERSTITION and RELIGION was now to be finally decided. The God of the Christians was publicly challenged: his power was defied to protect his dispensation against this impending stroke. Destitute of all human aid, their only reliance was on Heaven. And no *Believer*, but must conclude, that God would indeed interpose to vindicate the

Camelion, from the various matter on which they feed; and, with the facts, often epitomize the sentiments of their originals. George Elmacine, an Eastern Christian, whose Chronicle of the Saracens is translated from the Arabic, by Erpenius, into Latin, and by Vattier into French, is so regularly changeable in this respect, that Vattier very justly says of him, “Quand il parle de quelque chose concernant la Religion de Mahomet, on diroit qu’il est Mahometan: Quand il parle des Catholiques, qu’il est Catholique: Quand il parle des Jacobites, de même.” The translator’s reflection upon it is extraordinary, “Grand Perfection, à mon avis, pour un Historien: Pour un Historien Chrestien, je n’en parle point.” Every one sees the ridicule. However the maxim he had in view is a good one, *That the Historian should not appear to be of any sect or party.* But this is very different from being of *all* in their turns.

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character of his son : no *Man*, but must confess, that to support a Religion like this, was an occasion worthy the interposition of the Lord of all things.

WELL, the impious attack was made ; and the expected<sup>a</sup> protection afforded. The same great and impartial historian, who acquaints us with the attempt, informs us likewise of the defeat. His account is in these words: “ *Julian* (having been already thrice “ Consul) taking *Sallust*, Prefect of the se- “ veral *Gauls*, for his Colleague, entered a “ fourth time on this high magistracy. It “ appeared strange to see a private man as- “ sociated with *Augustus* : a thing, which, “ since the Consulate of *Dioclesian* and “ *Aristobulus*, history afforded no example of. “ And although his sensibility of the many “ and great events, which this year was “ likely to produce, made him very an-

<sup>a</sup> τότε δὴ Κύριος ὁ ὦν Ἱεροσολύμων Ἐπίσκοπος, πρὸς τὸν Προφῆτην Δανιὴλ κατὰ νύκτα ἐλάμβανεν, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἐυαγγελίοις ἐπισφραγίσαι, πολλοῖς τε προέλεγε, ὡς ἄρα νῦν ἦκε ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λί- θος ἐπὶ λίθον ἐκ ἀνδρῶν εἰς τὸ ναὸν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Σωτῆρος λόγιον πληρωθῆσει. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 20.

“ xious



“xious for the future, yet he both pushed on  
 “the various and complicated preparatives  
 “for this expedition with the utmost appli-  
 “cation, and, having an eye in every quar-  
 “ter, and being desirous to eternize his  
 “reign by the greatness of his atchieve-  
 “ments, he projected to rebuild, at an im-  
 “mense expense, the proud and magnifi-  
 “cent Temple of *Jerusalem*; which, (after  
 “many combats, attended with much blood-  
 “shed on both sides, during the siege by *Ves-*  
 “*pasian*) was, with great difficulty, taken  
 “and destroyed by *Titus*. He committed the  
 “conduct of this affair to *ALYPIUS* of *An-*  
 “*tioch*, who formerly had been Lieutenant  
 “in *Britain*. When, therefore, this *Aly-*  
 “*pius* had set himself to the vigorous execu-  
 “tion of his charge, in which he had all  
 “the assistance that the Governor of the  
 “province could afford him, horrible balls  
 “of fire, breaking out near the foundations,  
 “with frequent and reiterated attacks, ren-  
 “dered the place, from time to time, inac-  
 “cessible to the scorched and blasted work-  
 “men; and the victorious element continu-  
 “ing, in this manner, obstinately and re-  
 “solutely bent, as it were, to drive them  
 “to

"to a distance, *Alypius* thought best to give  
 "over the enterprize <sup>b</sup>."

THUS did the vigilance of Providence not only vindicate the honour of our holy faith in the open view of all men, but, in its goodness, secured the *memory* of this impious attempt by the testimony of the most unexceptionable Witness. For were Infidelity itself, when it would evade the force of evidence, to prescribe what qualities

Julianus jam ter Consul adscito in Collegium trabeæ Sallustio, Præfecto per Gallias, quater ipse amplissimum inierat magistratum: & videbatur novum, adjunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Dioclesianum & Aristobulum nullus meminerat gestum. Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicita mente præcipiens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret: diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa & interneciva certamina, obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito, ægre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ Rector, metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. *Ann. Marc.* lib. xxiii. cap. i.

it expected in a faultless testimony, it could invent none but what might be found in the historian here produced. He was a Pagan, and so not prejudiced in favour of Christianity: He was a dependent, a follower, and a profound admirer of *Julian*, and so not inclined to report any thing to his dishonour: He was a lover of truth, and so would not relate what he knew, or but suspected, to be false: He had great sense, improved by the study of philosophy and knowledge of the world, and so would not easily suffer himself to be deceived: He was not only contemporary to the fact; but, at the time it happened, resident near the place: He recorded the event not on its first report, when, in the relation of journalary occurrences, much falshood blends itself with truth; but after time and enquiry, which separates this impure mixture, had confirmed what really happened: He related it not as an uncertain report or hearsay, with diffidence; but as a notorious fact, at that time, no more questioned in *Asia*, than the project and success of the *Persian* expedition: He inserted it not for any partial purpose in support or confutation of any system; in defence or dis-



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credit of any character: He delivered it in no cursory or transient manner, nor in a loose or private memoir; but gravely and deliberately, as the natural and necessary part of a composition the most useful and important, a general History of the Empire; on the complete performance of which the author was so intent, that he exchanged a court life, for one of study and contemplation; and chose *Rome*, the great repository of the proper materials, for the place of his retirement.

C H A P. IV.

**B**UT the evidence given by the adversaries of our faith to the truth of this illustrious miracle does not rest upon a single Witness; I propose to shew, that *Libanius*, the friend and favorite of *Julian*, and even *JULIAN* himself, whose impiety brought this disgrace upon Paganism, have both confessed the hand by which he was overcome; though with that obscurity, and confusion of tongue, which always attends the graceless shame of impenitent offenders.

AND I shall be the fuller in weighing the value of their testimony, as it hath hitherto,

therto, I think, been entirely overlooked, and, by reason of an affected disguise, pass'd the critics unobserved.

LIBANIUS, in the *History of his own Life*, speaking of the fate of *Julian*, says,  
 “ The *Persians*, indeed, were informed  
 “ by a deserter, of the state to which fortune had now reduced our affairs: but  
 “ not a single man \* amongst us at *Antioch*,  
 “ knew any thing of the matter. It is true,  
 “ the calamity seemed to have been fore-  
 “ told by certain *Earthquakes in Palestine*,  
 “ which overthrew some cities, and damaged others. For it appeared to us, as if  
 “ God had presignified some great event by  
 “ these disasters: and, while we were  
 “ making our vows for averting the evil

\* Ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς — The words are remarkable and, I suspect, *emphatical*. It looks as if he used them to discredit a common report then in the mouths of the People, and which hath since figured in Ecclesiastical history, to this effect, “ That *Libanius*, about this time, meeting a certain Schoolmaster in *Antioch*, asked him, in derision, What the carpenter's son was doing? To which the other replied, Making a coffin for your *Hero*.”

“ we

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“ we apprehended, came a messenger, &c.<sup>d</sup>  
 Again, in his *funeral oration on Julian's death*, he says, “ The temple of *Apollo* con-  
 “ sumed by fire, presaged this misfortune,  
 “ — as did those *Earthquakes* which shook  
 “ all the land, the messengers, as it were,  
 “ of the following disorders and confusion.”

It can admit no doubt but that the *Earth-  
 quakes* spoken of in both passages, and said  
 to have happened *before* the death of *Julian*,  
 are the same. The *first* says they were in  
*Palestine* ; the *second* fixes them to the time  
 of burning the *Temple at Daphne* : all which  
 laid together brings us directly to the *Earth-  
 quake at Jerusalem*. And though, either  
 out of malice, imperfect information, or  
 wrong conception of what he heard, he les-

<sup>a</sup> Τῷ μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃ, παρ' αὐτομόλῳ τινὸς μαθεῖν ὑπ-  
 ἤρξεν, ἐν ᾧ τῷ εἶη τύχης. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς Αντισχεῦσιν, ἀν-  
 θρώπων μὲν ἕδεις. Σεισμοὶ δὲ ἐγγίγνοιτο τῷ κακῷ μὲνυ-  
 ται, πόλεων ἢ ἐν τῇ Παλαισίνῃ [Παλαισίνῃ] Συρίᾳ, ἢ  
 μὲν μέρη· τὰς δὲ ὅλας κατενεύκοντες. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ  
 Θεὸς, μεγάλας πάθῃσι, μέγα σημαίνειν. εὐχομένων δὲ  
 μὴ τὰ ὅλα δοξάζειν, μικρὸν, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Τῷτο ἦν νεὸς Απόλλωνος πνεύρι δαπανώμενος—  
 τῷτο σεισμοὶ γῆν πᾶσαν δονῶντες μελλύσης ἀγέλοι τα-  
 χῆς τε ἢ ἀκοσμίας.

sens



sens the event by the omission of one circumstance, and aggravates it by the invention of others, yet the characteristic marks of *time* and *place*, which he has left to it, prevent his putting the change upon us, if that was his intention, as it seems to have been, if we reflect, that the circumstance of *destroying cities*, and *shaking the whole empire*, belong to an Earthquake which happened about a Year and half after *Julian's* death<sup>f</sup>, and of which he was well apprised, as appears by his *Oration to avenge the death of Julian*, addressed to *Theodosius* : in which he tells the Emperor, the Gods were angry that *Julian's* death had not been hitherto avenged : and had given evident marks of their displeasure by the frequent slaughters of the *Roman* people ; and a dreadful Earthquake, which shook both *land* and *sea*<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Kal. Aug. consule Valentiniano primum cum fratre, horrendi terrores per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subiti. — concutitur omnis terreni STABILITAS ponderis, MAREQUE dispulsum retro fluctibus evolutis abscessit. — innumera quædam in civitatibus & ubi reperta sunt ædificia complanarunt. — *Am. Marc. l. xxvi. c. 10.*

<sup>g</sup> Ὁ πολὺς δὲ φόνος ὅτε τῇδε, ὅτε ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Δαιμόνων ὄργην μηνύει, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἐμείλλον. ὁ Φόβος τῆς Γῆς τε ἔσειε καὶ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ. *c. 10.*

Hitherto

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Hitherto *Libanius*, notwithstanding the disguisements taken notice of above, hath reasonably well distinguished these two different Earthquakes, the one in *Palestine*; and the other over all the *Roman* empire; by expressly affirming, that the first happened before the death of *Julian*; and the second, some time after. Yet, in another place, in his *Oration on the death of Julian*, he seems totally to have confounded them with one another<sup>h</sup>.

BUT the carelessness or the perversity of the writers of these times, whether Christians or Pagans, is equally to be lamented. We have observed the arts *Libanius* employs to hide the *Earthquake at Jerusalem*, and seen with what pomp he ascribes the disaster occasioned by *that*, which happened under the first consulate of *Valentinian* and his brother, to the anger of the Gods for the unavenged murder of *Julian*. On which account, I suppose, it is, that *Sozomene* affirms, that this Earthquake happened in the time

<sup>h</sup> Ἡ μὲν γὰρ γῆ, καλῶς τε ἤθετο τῷ πάθους — ὑποσεισμένη, καθάπερ ἵππος ἀναβάτην, πόλεις τόσας ἢ τόσας: ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ποικίλως τὰς Λιβύων ἀπάσας, &c

of *Julian*<sup>i</sup>, and makes it one of the marks of God's displeasure at his apostasy. So again because *Libanius* had with excessive impudence accused the Christians of the death of *Julian*, *Gregory Naz.* to be even with him, charges *Julian* with the murder of *Constantius*. Each, I dare say, with equal Justice; both, I am well satisfied, with the same Spirit.

I come now to the testimony of *Julian*. His Letter to the *community of the Jews* has been already mentioned. From that part of it, wherein he informs them how he had punished such as had given their people unjust vexation, it appears to have been written early in his reign; on his first coming to *Constantinople*, when he purged the city and palace of Spies, Informers, and the like pests of a corrupted Court<sup>k</sup>. The prin-

<sup>i</sup> Ἀμέλειτοι πᾶσι πάντα τὸ χρόνον ταυτησί τῃ βασιλείᾳ ἀγανακτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐφαίνετο — τὸ τε γὰρ γῆς συνεχῶς ὑπὸ χαλεπωτάτων σεισμῶν τινασσομένης — συμβάλλω δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἐπυρόμενη, ἡ βασιλεύουσα αὐτῇ ἢ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον αἷμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὄντι καὶ τὸ συμβᾶν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γέγονε πάθος. &c. Lib. vi. c. 2.

<sup>k</sup> *Sozomene* takes notice of this letter, καὶ παλαιότε-



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principal design of it is to acquaint them with his purpose to rebuild their city, on his return from the *Persian* war. And without doubt he then intended to defer the re-establishment of the *Jewish* religion till that

χαίς ἡ ἀρχηγούς αὐτῶν ἡ αὐτῶν ὅ τῷ πλῑθει ἐ-  
γεγῆσεν, οὐχ ἑδὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἡ τῷ αὐτῶν βασιλείας.  
Notwithstanding which, those who have conveyed it  
down to us, have stamped this mark of doubt and suspi-  
cion on the face of it, εἰ γνήσιον. Without question, they  
believed it to be forged by the *Jews*. The writer of it  
styles the injuries offered to the *Jews*, *impious*; as if they  
were a holy Nation — Καὶ τὸ τῷ πιαύτης δυσφημίας  
ἀσέβημα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐβαστάμην γῆσαι: tells them that he  
had precipitated the Delators into horrible dungeons with  
his own hands, ὅς μὲν ἐγὼ ἐν χερσίν ἐμαῖς λαβό-  
μην, εἰς βόθρον ὥσας ὄλεσα: calls the Patriarch,  
Brother, τὸ ἀδελφὸν Ἰσλὸν τὸ αἰδεσιμώτατον πατριάρχην;  
and promises, that, when he had restored their City, he  
would come thither, and live and worship with them.  
All these particulars, the Critics conceived to smell  
strongly of imposture. But what probably most confirmed  
their suspicions, was the use the *Jews* made of it, to  
evade a miracle that so much humbled them: We see  
it only promises their restoration after his *Persian* expe-  
dition. And one *R. David Gans*, of the sixteenth  
century, in the second part of his book, called *Zamach*,  
quoted by *Wagenfeilius*, in his *Tela ignea Satanae*, p.  
231. appears to have made this very use of it. “Julia-  
nus Cæsar præcepit ut restitueretur Templum san-  
ctissimum, magno cum decore & pulchritudine,

war

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war was at an end. But his various attacks upon Christianity not succeeding to his hopes, he grew enraged by his defeat, and resolved to put this last effort of his malice in immediate execution.

“ huicque rei ipse sumtus suppeditavit. Verum cœli-  
 “ tus impedimentum injectum est ne perficeretur fa-  
 “ brica, NAM Cæsar in bello Persico periit.”

But what *Greg. Nazianzen*, in his second *Invective*, tells us of the conference that followed this letter, plainly shews it to be genuine. *Julian*, he says, assured the leaders of the *Jews*, he had discovered, from their sacred books, that the time of their restoration was at hand. Ὁπθειάζων τε δήθεν ἐκ τῆ παρ' αὐτοῖς βίβλων ἢ ἀπορρήτων, ὡς νῦν αὐτοῖς ἀποκείμενον εἶη καλεσθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἢ νεῶν ἀναδείμασθαι, ἢ τῶν παλαιῶν τὸ κρεῖτος ἀνανεώσασι ἢ ἀποκρυπτόμενῳ δεινοῖας πλάσμασι τὴν ὀπίνοιν. — It is not a mere curiosity to enquire, what Prophecy it was, that *Julian* perverted; because it tends to confirm the truth of *Nazianzen's* relation. I have sometimes thought it might possibly be the words of the Septuagint, in Dan. ix. 27. Σωθήσεται ὁδοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρημωσιν. The ambiguity of which *Julian* took the advantage of (against *hellenistic Jews*, who, it is probable, knew no more of the Original than himself) as signifying, *the Tribute shall be given to the desolate*, instead of, *the consummation shall be poured upon the desolate*. For the Letter in question tells us, he had remitted their *Tribute*; and by so doing, we see, was for passing himself upon them for a kind of second *Cyrus*:

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WE may be assured, this Letter had brought the principal *Jews*, from all quarters of the world to Court. The manner in which he appeared to interest himself in their quarrel, could not but persuade them, that the Apostate from Christianity was become more than half a Profelyte to Judaism. While he, on his part, flattered himself, that those who adhered so obstinately to bloody sacrifices might be easily cajoled into Idolatry.

THESE, apparently, were the men, then residing at court, and waiting for his favours, whom, *Chrysostome* and *Gregory Na-*

All this (that is to say, the authenticity of the letter, the truth of *Nazianzen's* relation, and this conjecture concerning the prophecy *Julian* pretended to go upon) seems greatly to be supported by what the Christian writers say of the behaviour of the *Jews* while the project was in agitation. *Socrates* assures us, that they menaced the Christians, and threatened to treat them as they themselves had been treated by the *Romans*. L. iii. c. 20. — Φοβερὰς δὲ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐαυτὰς, ἡλαζονδούνό τε κατ' αὐτῶν, ἐπαπειλῆνες ποσά τε ποιήσεν, ὅσα αὐτοὶ ποτὲ Ῥωμαίων πάλας πεπόνθασιν. And *Rufinus* says, *they were as vain as if they had had a Prophet of their own at their head.* And this they might well be, when they had an Emperor who promised to live and worship with them, and set himself up for the Restorer foretold by their Prophets.

*zianzen*



*zianzen* tell us, he called together, to enquire, Why they did not offer sacrifices as the *Law* directed ; at a time when the Empire stood so much in need of the divine protection, and the Emperor was so well disposed to implore it from all quarters. They replied, that it was not lawful to sacrifice but in the *Temple of Jerusalem* only. This was what He would be at : So he took the advantage of their answer, to facilitate his secret purpose ; which was to give the lye at once to all the Prophets and Messengers of God.

FOR we are by no means to suppose him so ignorant as not to know what the *Law*,

There is only one thing in the Letter, which remains to be accounted for ; and that is, the strange boast of his personal atchievement, in *thrusting down the Delators into dungeons with his own hands* : in which the Imperial character is so little preserved, that the learned *M. de la Bleterie* is almost tempted, on this single circumstance, to give up the Letter for a forgery. But he here forgets what he himself had before mentioned of the strange escapes of this fantastic Monarch. “ Saint Gregoire Nazianze dit, que Julien chassoit à coups  
“ de pié & de poing de pauvres gens qui venoient lui  
“ demander des graces. Ces pauvres gens (says *M. de la Bleterie*) pouvoient bien être des DELATEURS.”  
Vie de Julien, p 314. 2<sup>d</sup> Edit.

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 in this case, required. That very Letter to the *Community* plainly insinuates he did know it. His acquaintance with Scripture must have informed him of it: for if there was any part to which he would give greater attention than the rest, it was the Ritual of sacrifices, a species of worship, to which he was inordinately addicted. Besides, in his *Discourse* against the Christian Religion, he occasionally, but in express words, declares, that it was of the nature of the Mosaic Law, to offer sacrifices at *Jerusalem* only<sup>1</sup>. But as this *Discourse* was written some time after the consultation in question, I would lay the less weight upon it.

HOWEVER, no one, I think, can doubt, but that the whole Conference was a Farce; that *Julian* only wanted a screen for his impiety; and that the pretence of procuring the means of their intercession with the God of the Universe, for the prosperity of the Empire, was no other than a decent cover for putting this last effort of his malice in present execution. The *Jews* eagerly fell

<sup>1</sup> Ὅτι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἀγόντες, ἐδὲν δεόμενοι τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀπὸ τίνος ἔδύλε; — apud Cyprian p. 306. Spanh.

in with his project ; and the issue was as we have related it.

THIS great event happened in the beginning of the year CCCLXIII, as appears from the words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, quoted above. *Julian*, who then wintered at *Antioch*, was preparing for his *Persian* expedition ; for which he did not set out till the month of *March*. So unexpected a traverse, we must suppose, would be immediately carried to him<sup>m</sup>, with all the circumstances that attended it : *Alypius* could not but assure him, that the repeated eruptions made it impracticable to persist in the attempt ; and that the consumption of the materials utterly disabled his Agents from speedily renewing it. What his first sentiments were, on this occasion, we have no certain or particular account : how he resented the disgrace in his cooler hours, I am now going to shew.

THERE is, amongst the writings of *Julian*, a notable fragment of an *Oration*, or *Epistle*, call it which you will, first given us by *Petavius* wherein the Emperor, with

<sup>m</sup> ταῦτα ἤκουσε μὲν Ἰουλιανός. Theod. l. iii. c. 20.



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great abilities and learning, prescribes and marks out a method to reform Paganism, and set it up for a Rival to the Gospel, in all the plausible pretences to piety and virtue. This, and his books against the Christian Religion, were the two master wheels of the same machine; the one was to degrade Christianity, the other to advance Superstition: and therefore it is no wonder we find them written at the same time. St. *Jerom* expressly says<sup>n</sup>, that the books against

<sup>n</sup> Ep. lxxxiii. ad Magnum Oratorem. And his Historian tells us, that, even to the last, while harrassed with Famine and the Persian Cavalry, he continued to employ the silent Hours of the Night, in his usual Sophistic Exercises of reading and composing: which *Ammianus*, to do his Master Honour, says, was in Imitation of *Julius Cæsar*.—Ipse autem ad sollicitam suspensionemque quietem paullisper protractus, cum somno (ut solebat) depulso, ad æmulationem Cæsaris Julii quædam sub pellibus scribens, obscuro noctis, altitudine sensus cujusdam Philosophi teneretur, vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii Publici, &c. lib. xxv. c. 2. And it is not improbable but his Favourite *Libanius* had those very Writings in his Eye, when he said that the Life of his Master, *Julian*, was equally divided between his Cares for Religion and the State. Οὗτος γάρ ἐστι ὁ μερίσας αὐτῷ τὴν βίον εἰς τε τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ὅλῳ βελὰς, εἰς τε τὰς περὶ βωμῶν ἀγλαίας. *De ulcisc. Julian. nec.*

our

our holy Faith were composed during the *Persian* expedition. *Libanius*, indeed, intimates, they were written in his winter quarters at *Antioch*. Their accounts may be easily reconciled, in supposing that this part was planned and begun before his remove. However, the other part, the directions for the reformation of Paganism was as late as the *Persian* expedition; for this, we have the author's own word, where, speaking of the customary honours paid to the Gods, he says — “ which not *THREE* years, nor three thousand have established; but all past ages, amongst all the nations upon earth<sup>o</sup>.” By the *three years* he evidently alludes to his restoration of Idolatry; which, at any time sooner than the *Persian* expedition, was not intitled to so high a date. For he was first saluted *Augustus* in the spring of the year CCCLX, and the *Persian* expedition was in the spring CCCLXIII.

AT this time, therefore, he had well digested his defeat at *Jerusalem*. What effects it left upon his temper, the following pas-

<sup>o</sup> — ἡς ἐνομοθέτησαν οὐκ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς, ἔδὲ τετραχίλιοι· πᾶς ὃ ὁ προλαβὼν αἰὼν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τ' γῆς ἔθηκεν.  
p. 294. Spanh. Ed.

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 sage of this Fragment will inform us; where  
 after having justified the Gods for suffering  
 their temples, images, and most devout  
 worshipers to be injuriously treated, he  
 goes on thus: — “ Let no man, therefore,  
 “ because he hath seen or heard of those who  
 “ have insulted their images and *Temples*,  
 “ entertain any doubts concerning their su-  
 “ perintendency. For this reason too, let  
 “ them not think to delude us with their  
 “ sophistry, nor terrify us with the cry of  
 “ *Providence*. For, the Prophets amongst  
 “ the *Jews*, who so much upbraid us with  
 “ these disasters, what will they say to their  
 “ own Temple? that Temple of theirs, which  
 “ has been now a third time destroyed<sup>p</sup>, and

\* The learned *J. A. Fabricius* thinks this *τεῖνον ἀναλεγε-  
 ναι* includes the defeat of *Julian's* attempt to rebuild  
 the Temple; and so, in his *Lux Evangelii*, he brings it  
 to prove *Julian's* own acknowledgment of the miracle:  
 in which he has been followed by *M. de la Bletterie* and  
 others. But 1. Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot,  
 in any known figure of speech, be called the overthrow  
 of a building. 2. *Ἐπεσομένης ᾧ ἐδὲ νῦν* can never be  
 said of a building destroyed but two months before. In  
 a word, *Fabricius* is mistaken; the three subversions  
 here meant, were — that by the *Assyrians*, — that by  
*Herod*, the son of *Antipater*, — and that by *Vespasian*.  
 And though *Herod's* demolition of it was only in order

“ is



“ is not raised again to this day, I say not  
 “ this to upbraid them ; for I myself, after  
 “ so long a desolation, would have rebuilt  
 “ it<sup>9</sup>, in honour of the God which was  
 “ there worshiped. But I now mention  
 “ it only as I was willing to shew, that no-  
 “ thing human is exempt from the injuries  
 “ of time. As to the Prophets, who write  
 “ in this manner, they merely rave, and  
 “ cant to the capacities of dreaming old  
 “ women. Not that I would insinuate, the  
 “ God they worship is not great and migh-

to rebuild it more magnificently, yet it was such a destruction as *Julian* might properly enough urge for the support of his argument, against an objection, that supposed *stability and duration* amongst the qualities to be looked for in the domicile of the *true* God ; which the Pagan temples not having, were concluded to belong to the *false*.—Or it may possibly be, that, instead of *Herod's demolition*, he might allude to the Prophanation of it by *Antiochus*, as a learned Friend suggests.

⁹ — ὅστις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερὸν χρόνοις ἀναστήσας διενεχθὲν αὐτὸν — I do not urge this independent Declaration (which implies some hindrance of his purpose) against the Unbelievers, because they will say, “ The Hindrance appears to have been the *Persian Expedition*; *Julian* having told the *Jews*, in his Letter still extant, that he would rebuild their Temple when he had ended that War, which implies his Inability of doing it before.”

“ ty :

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“ ty : but this I say, he hath no good Pro-  
 “ phets, nor Interpreters of his will, a-  
 “ mongst them. The reason is, they never  
 “ applied themselves to purge and purify  
 “ the mind in the circle of human science,  
 “ nor tried to open their eyes which igno-  
 “ rance had shut up, nor strove to drive  
 “ away the darkness in which they lay in-  
 “ volved : but are as men, who through  
 “ mists or clouds see the great light of hea-  
 “ ven \* neither clearly nor distinctly, and  
 “ mistake that ethereal splendor for an im-  
 “ pure terrestrial fire ; and stark blind to all  
 “ Nature working round them, roar out  
 “ with frantic vehemence, *Fear and tremble,*  
 “ *ye inhabitants of earth ! Fire, lightening,*  
 “ *the sword, darts, death,* and all the fright-  
 “ ful words that express that one destruct-  
 “ ive property of FIRE. But of these things  
 “ it is more expedient to speak in private,

\* *Julian*, by *Φῶς μέγα*, means the *Sun*, as before,  
*Θεὸν μέγαν*, the *God of the universe*. For, *Φῶς καθαρὸν*  
 which follows, was, I believe, never used by these Fanatic  
 Platonists, for a *terrestrial* fire, it being the term they  
 gave to their *holy light*, or the *αὐτοπλον ἄγαλμα*. Ju-  
 lian thought nothing more holy than the Sun. — He did  
 not add the article, because he is here expressing the idea  
 of the mistaken beholder, — *a great light*, tho', by *that*,  
 he himself meant, *the great light*.

“ where

“ where we may shew, how much these  
 “ masters of wisdom, who pretend to be  
 “ sent from God, are inferior to our Po-  
 “ ets.”

\* Μηδεὶς ἔν ἀπιστείτω θεοῖς ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων, ὡς εἰ-  
 ρωσάν τινες εἰς τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τῷ ΝΑΟΥΣ. Μη-  
 δεὶς ἔν ἀπαλάτῳ λόγοις· μηδὲ ταρστέτω πρὸς τὴν  
 προνοίας ἡμᾶς· οἱ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζοντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ὅτι Ἰ-  
 σδαίων οἱ Προφῆται, τί πρὸς τῷ νεῷ φήσουσι; τῷ παρ’  
 αὐτοῖς τρίτον ἀναίστηναι, ἐγερθεῖν καὶ εἰς τὸν νῦν.  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι ὀνειδίζων ἐκείνοις, ὅσους πάντας ὕψι-  
 ρον χρόνους ἀναστήσας διανοήθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τῷ  
 κληθέντι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, θεῷ νῦν δὲ ἐκρησάμενον αὐτῷ, δεῖξαι  
 βελομένην, ὅτι τῷ ἀνθρωπίνων ἔδῃ ἀφθαρτον εἶναι δι-  
 αλῆ· καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα γράφοντες ἐλήρην προφῆται,  
 γενομένοις ψυχροῖς ὁμιλῶντες. Οὐδὲν δὲ, οἶμαι, κωλύει  
 τὸ μὴ θεὸν εἶναι μέγαν καὶ μὴ πνεύματος προφητῶν ἔδῃ  
 ἐξηγητῶν τυχεῖν, αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τῷ ἐαυτῶν ψυχῇ, καὶ  
 παρέχον σκοπεῖν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίσις μαθήμασιν· ἔτε  
 ἀνοῖξαι μεμνηκότα λίαν τὰ ὁμολογῶντα ἔδῃ ἀνακαθάρσει  
 τῷ ὁπκιμένην αὐτοῖς ἀχλύ. Αἱ δὲ οἷον φῶς μέγα  
 δι’ ὁμίχλης οἱ ἀνθρώποι βλέπουσιν καὶ καθαῶς, ἔδῃ  
 εὐκλειῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκείνο νενομικότες ἐχὼ φῶς καθαροῖ,  
 ἀλλὰ ΠΥΡ, καὶ τῷ πρὸς πάντων ὄντες ἀθέατοι, βοῶσι  
 μεγάλα· φεῖτε· φοβεῖσθε· πῦρ, φλόξ, θάνατος,  
 μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία· πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι μίαν ἐξηγέμενοι  
 τῷ βλαπτικῇ τῷ πρὸς διώτα· ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ μὴ τῶ-  
 των ἰδία βέλιον παρῆσθαι, πόσω φαυλότεροι τῷ παρ’  
 ἡμῖν ἔτω γεγονάσι ποιητῶν, οἱ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῷ θεῷ λόγων  
 διδάσκαλοι. p. 295. Spanh. Ed.



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THE reader, who consults the fragment from whence this long passage is transcribed, will perceive, that it is a mere digression. But if it were foreign to his subject, we shall see it concerned a matter very intimate to his thoughts. The persecuted Church of *Christ* was, at this time, triumphant, and loudly exulting in the divine protection so miraculously afforded it. The Apostate, when the power of the Empire failed him, had recourse to this last expedient, the arms of calumny, to vent his rage, and cover the shame of his disappointment. And then it was that, exchanging the *Imperial* for the *Sophist's Throne*<sup>t</sup>, he composed the two Discourses mentioned above. Now, to be altogether silent on a subject, that was plainly the occasion of his writing, would have been an affectation that had rather betrayed, than covered, his self-conviction. On the other hand, the Soldier's pride of heart, the Pedant's contempt for his unclassical adversaries, and the Monarch's delicacy for the imperial dignity, would not suffer him to enter on a formal altercation. Besides, in

<sup>t</sup> Ἐπὶ θρόνον τινὲς ὑψηλῆ μαίλα σοφιστικῶς ἢ βασιλικῶς.  
Themist. Orat. i.

this

this case, he must either have confessed or denied the Fact. The one would have completed the triumph of his Adversaries; and the other offended the ingenuity of his Friends. He therefore chose a middle way: and, under shew of exposing the denunciations of the Jewish Prophets against past Idolatries, as the ravings of enthusiasm, he covertly condemns the present triumphs of the Church as the workings of the same spirit, upon the ground of a natural event.

FOR, taking occasion (tho' the subject of the work before us was the *reformation* of Paganism) to vindicate that ancient Worship from the dishonours it had from time to time suffered, in the overthrow of its temples and idols, he observes, that those who exulted most in its disgraces, the *Jewish prophets* (whose writings, indeed, abound with exclamations and denunciations on the folly of idolatry, the impuissance of idols, and the destruction to which both were devoted) had of all men the least reason to triumph; since their own TEMPLE had been thrice destroyed, and at that very time lay in ruins. This leads him to the subject he wanted to touch

touch upon: he therefore adds, that he spoke this out of no ill-will to the *community of the Jews*, for that he was himself *desirous of rebuilding their Temple*. No, but only to convince them that neither the overthrow of their Temple, nor the Temples of Paganism, was to be ascribed to *divine wrath*, but to the natural condition of earthly things. And, enraged at the contrary principle, which occasioned these exultations in the christian Church, he attempts to shew, in the character he gives of the *Jewish Prophets*, which he trusted the intelligent reader would apply to the *Christian Ministers*, that it was the issue of ignorance and superstition. These Prophets he represents as despising human science, and acting upon the principles, and preaching to the capacities of ignorant and superstitious women, a character which was, and might be, objected to the *Christian Ministry*, whose writings are full of exclamations against *Grecian literature*, but what by no means suited the *Jewish Prophets*, who appear to have had as much of the barbaric learning of those early times as any of their pagan neighbours. But, lest this should not sufficiently mark his purpose, by an elegant similitude, in which



which he employs his favourite idol, the *Sun*, to shew the root of these superstitions to be the ignorance of nature; he makes those, whom he supposes under its illusions, to cry out in the very exclamations that then resounded from one end of the Christian world to the other, *Fear and tremble, ye inhabitants of earth! --- Fire, lightning, the sword, darts, death, and all the frightful words* (says he) *which express that one destructive property of Fire.*---But as if now he had run riot, he suddenly checks himself, and observes, that this was a subject properer for a *private* audience. And here the genius of Paganism came to his aid very opportunely; which, when pinched and distressed, was always as ready to cry out MYSTERY, as he says the Church was to call out FIRE. To say the truth, it was full time to draw back. He had confessed his inclination and purpose of rebuilding the *Jewish* Temple; and had evidently enough hinted at the exultations of the Christians on his defeat; so that he had indeed nothing to do, but to put off the cause to a *private* audience.

ON this exposition of the passage, let me just make the following remarks.

G

I. IF

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I. IF we understand *Julian's* reflections as *indefinite*, nothing can be more disjointed or absurd. The Christians of that time were wont to draw an argument of the impuissance of Polytheism from the repeated disgraces the heathen temples and their idols had suffered in every period of the world. *Julian* undertakes to solve this objection; but, instead of directing his answer to the Christians, who now make it against *him*, he retorts it upon the Jews, who, many ages ago, had made it against *others*. These he wantonly provokes at a time his views made them necessary to him. Again, he characterises these *Prophets* in so ambiguous and loose a manner, that you may either take them for the writers of the Old testament, or the Heads of the Jewish Community of that time: which no rule of composition can account for, but that which allows cautious writers to explain one system of things by the names that belong to another. Lastly, he speaks of *terrifying exclamations* as made by the Prophets, which they never did make; and which, tho' made by Christ and his Apostles, are, applied by them to the punishments of a  
*future*

*future State*; whereas he is speaking of what the worshipers of One God say of the dispensations of his Providence in the *present*. We must conclude therefore, that the exclamations ridiculed in this passage, must needs be those which the recent event at *Jerusalem* had just occasioned.

2. TAKE the passage in this *determined* sense, and nothing can be more artful than the conduct of the Imperial Sophist. Our Religion was at this juncture properly victorious. It was exulting over *Paganism* in the destruction of the temple at *Daphné*<sup>c</sup>; it was exulting over *Judaism* in the divine opposition to the restoration of that at *Jerusalem*; and over the *Apostate* Emperor in the disgraces of both. This spirit *Julian*

<sup>c</sup> The Oracle of *Apollo* in the Temple at *Daphné* near *Antioch* had been dumb for some time. When *Julian* came thither, he urged the God himself to declare the cause of his silence. The Oracle replied, that he was hindered by the bones of St. *Babylas*, which were then inshrined in his neighbourhood. These *Julian* ordered to be removed: And soon after the Temple at *Daphné* was burnt to the ground. The Christians (says *Sozomene*) affirmed it was by lightning from Heaven: but the Pagans laughed at this, and said it was fired by the *Galileans*.



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wanted to repress and mortify. In the case of *Apollo's* temple he had no reason to be delicate. As to *that* of the God of *Israel*, we have shewn, it would not bear a professed mention. How has he conducted his discourse? By retorting upon the *Jews*, in the case of their old ruined Temple, the *Christian* objection arising from that at *Daphné*: which recrimination served a double purpose; to introduce what he had to say on his own baffled attempt; and to say it (which was the point) obscurely and darkly. Thus the christian Triumphs, which he introduces to ridicule, are so represented as to have a more obvious reference to the Temple at *Daphné*, and a covert one to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, by the choice of several words and circumstances which necessarily extend it to that further meaning. Thus, for instance, the circumstance of their *ignorance of nature*, ἡ περὶ αὐτὸ πάντων ὅλης ἀθέατος, by which he would insinuate, that the readiness in believing miracles arises from that ignorance. But he could never intend this observation should be applied to the Temple at *Daphné*, which he did not believe was set on fire by lightning. And thus again the words

ἰάνατο,

θάνατος, μάχαιρα, ῥομφαία, *the sword, darts, death*, which he adds to πῦρ, φλόξ, *fire, lightening*, necessarily carry us to *Jerusalem*, where the eruption occasioned much human slaughter, whereas nothing suffered at *Antioch* but the Temple of *Apollo*. And with these views the retortion on the *Jewish* writers, will not appear so forced and unnatural. It was a Christian practice to apply the language of the Old testament to the events of the Gospel dispensation; and the disgrace of idols and idolaters being the constant subject of those writings, we may be sure, the Christians would not fail to apply every thing of this nature to the present occasion. <sup>d</sup> So that those *Scriptures* being

<sup>d</sup> *Theodoret* tells the following story, very apposite to this subject: He says, that when *Julian* was at *Antioch*, one *Publia*, a venerable matron, and at the head of a community of virgins devoted to Religion, took occasion, whenever the Emperor went that way, to chant louder than was the custom, in defiance of his impiety: they chose too to sing those psalms of *David* which ridicule the vanity and impuissance of idols, αἱ εἰδώλων κωμῳδεῖ ἢ ἀδένεια, and particularly the following verses. *The Idols of the Heathens are but silver and gold, the work of men's hands: they that make them are like unto them, and so are all they that put their trust in them.*

employed as divine decisions to confirm their cause, naturally became the object of *Julian's* resentment.

3. THIS likewise well accounts for the title of *Prophets*, which he gives these Jewish Writers or Rulers; and for his abuse of them under that character. It was to prevent the Reader's stopping at *Apello's* Temple, when it was the writer's purpose to lead him silently to that of *Jerusalem*: to which only the Jewish Prophets and their *Prophecies* had any relation. These things then we may consider as certain marks of his further meaning. And, indeed, if he had it not, What reason was there for being so shy in the mention of that Idol Temple? Its destruction did not at all distress him; as

*Julian*, (as he had reason) was offended with this insult, and, as often as he passed by, ordered them to be silent. Instead of obeying, *Publia* exhorted her virgins to strain their throats still higher, and especially when they came to this verse: *Let God arise, and let his Enemies be scattered*. This provoked the Emperor to order one of his guards to bring out the old woman and box her ears, which (says the historian) *Publia* esteemed a great honour, and went on to torment the Apostate with her psalm-singing, in the same manner as the author of the Psalms tormented the evil spirit in *Saul*. l. iii. c. xix.

he



he believed it to be set on fire by the Christians. But, in the other case, he had to do with the God of the Christians; and he was not yet in an humour, whatever he might be afterwards, to cry, *Vicisti, Galilæe.*

4. It being now seen, that *Julian* in this passage evidently refers to his defeat, the covert manner in which he owns himself overcome, adds greatly to the weight of it. For no suspicion can lye against so oblique a reference to the Fact, even in the opinion of those who could smell forgery in an open and direct confession. An Impostor, *piously* disposed to procure *Julian's* testimony against himself, would never think of doing it so obscurely, as that it should escape the notice of those whom he principally intended to impose upon.

THUS far concerning the APOSTATE's own testimony. But as there were three Parties interested in this affair, the *Pagans*, the *Jews*, and the *Christians*; our evidence might be thought defective, if any one of them were wanting on so important an occasion.

WE shall therefore, in the next place, produce the testimony of a famous RABBI:

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who, tho' late in time, yet composed the work, from whence the following passage is taken, on the Traditions and Records of the several Ages he writes of. This is the celebrated R. *Gedaliah ben Joseph Jechaja*; he lived in the fifteenth century, and, in his history called *Schalscheleth Hakkabbala* expresses himself to this effect: "In the  
 " days of R. *Channan* and his brethren,  
 " about the year of the world 4349, our  
 " Annals tell us, there was a great earth-  
 " quake *over all the earth*; by which the  
 " Temple which the *Jews* had raised at  
 " *Jerusalem* with vast expence, at the com-  
 " mand of *Julian* the Apostate, was thrown  
 " down. The day after the earthquake, a  
 " dreadful fire fell from heaven, which  
 " melted all the iron tools and instruments  
 " employed about the work; and destroyed  
 " many, nay incredible numbers of the  
 " *Jews*." I will make two remarks on

\* In diebus R. Channan & sociorum ejus, anno circiter orbis conditi 4349, memorant libri annalium, magnum in orbe universo fuisse terræ motum, collapsumque esse Templum quod struxerunt Judæi Hierosolymis, præcepto Cæsaris Juliani Apostatæ, impensis maximis. Postridie ejus diei [quo mota fuerat terra] de Cælo ignis multus cecidit, ita ut omnia ferramenta il-

this

this testimony. 1. The Historian's calling it an *earthquake over all the earth*, is in the language of the *Jews*; and the same with that of the Evangelist, who tells us, that at the crucifixion, *there was darkness over all the earth*<sup>f</sup>. 2. This story of a rebuilt Temple, shews he had his materials neither from Pagan nor Christian writers; who are unanimous that no more than the foundations were prepared. And, as there is no visible purpose why he should invent it, we must conclude, he found it thus related in the Annals of the Rabbins; the composers of which might possibly draw this conclusion from what they found recorded of the immense contributions of their People. 3. The historian says, it was at the *command of Julian*; which, without bringing *Christianity* into the question, supplies his Reader with a plausible account of this visible mark of the divine displeasure at the attempt; and consequently affords his brethren a principle on which they might believe the

lius ædificii liqueſcerent, & amburerentur Judæi multi atque adeo innumerabiles. *Apud Wagenſeil. Tela ignea Satanae.*

<sup>f</sup> Luke xxiii. 44.    <sup>g</sup> See hereafter in this chapter.



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fact consistently with their profession of  
*Judaism.*

#### C H A P. V.

**H**ERE then, for the present, we shall  
rest our evidence ; ON THE CONFESSION  
OF OUR ADVERSARIES THEMSELVES:  
And, from the *nature of the* TESTIMONY,  
proceed to some considerations on the *nature*  
*of the* FACT, in order to the fuller establishment  
of this important truth.

ONE of the requisite qualities in a forged  
Miracle, that pretends to live and do well,  
is, that the fact on which it rises, be private,  
obscure, unconcerning, and remote from  
general observation. And tho' these circumstances  
may sometimes attend a *true* one ; yet that is  
but accidental, and hurts not its credit, so long  
as it is accompanied (which it ever is) with others,  
that supply their defects. But for a forged Miracle  
to affect the distinction of *public notoriety*,  
would be too impudent a reliance even on  
religious credulity. To feign a miracle on  
a civil fact, which must have passed in sight  
of a whole nation, would be rather an attempt

tempt to put out men's eyes, than to impose on their belief. Hence it is we find, the *lying wonders* of him, whose coming was after the working of Satan<sup>s</sup>, so well answer the description which He, who came with all the power of the Father, hath given us of every subtle Impostor in general, that *they love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.*

Now the PROJECT to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem* was a public transaction, the most notorious and interesting of that Age.

THE PROJECTOR was no other than the Emperor of the world himself: a circumstance sufficient of itself to draw the attention of the World upon it.

HIS ATTEMPT produced other circumstances that would obtrude themselves even on the most incurious. The principal *Jeaus* were called together from all quarters<sup>h</sup>;

<sup>s</sup> 2 Theff. ii. 9.

<sup>h</sup> — τῶν ᾧ ἐκείνοι [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] τῶ λόγων ἀπασιως ἀκύναντες, ἀπασι τὰ προσελαβόμενα τοῖς καὶ οἱ κεμῆν ὁμοφύλοις ἐδήλωσαν. Οἱ ᾧ πάντοθεν συνέβησαν

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*Alypius*, a man of the first figure, was put at the head of the Undertaking: immense quantities of materials were laid in; vast numbers of workmen were assembled: and the impotent triumphs of the *Jews* gave an eclat to every movement which the restless tho' determined spirit of *Julian* was hourly pushing forward.

THE PLACE contributed no less to its notoriety. It was in the centre of the Empire; and in the head quarters of the two religious Parties that then divided it,

THE TIME likewise was critical. The religious World had just suffered a surprising revolution. It had been suddenly brought back from the *new* Opinions to a profession of the *old*. Yet the disgraced Religion, by courage and constancy in suffering, still kept its enemies anxious amidst all their success, and fearful amidst all their power, for what might be the final issue.

THE ACTION too was capitally interesting: The design of the project was to give

καὶ ἱεράματα καὶ προθυμίαν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν εἰσφέρειν.  
Theodoret, H st. Eccl, l. iii, c. 20.

the



the last blow to the credit of *Christianity*. And the honour of the new and old profession was staked on the event. We have shewn that every body understood *Julian's* purpose to be no other than to put a public affront upon Revelation. Paganism was big with expectation. The Church in general was alarmed; but the more knowing and pious amongst them, to the very last, mocked and defied the impiety of the attempt<sup>i</sup>.

SUCH were the various *passions and interests* which concurred with the *Time* and *Place* to engage the attention, and excite the impatience of all men for the event.

BUT now, when full expectation on the one side, and continued alarms on the other, had set the world at gaze, the project sud-

<sup>i</sup> Cyrillus, post Maximum confessorem, Jerosolymis habebatur episcopus. Apertis igitur fundamentis, calces cæmentaque adhibita: nihil omnino deerat, quin die postera, veteribus deturbatis, nova jacerent fundamenta; cum tamen episcopus, diligenti consideratione habita, vel ex his quæ in Danielis Prophetia de temporibus legerat, vel quod in Evangeliiis Dominus prædixerat, persisteret nullo genere fieri posse ut ibi a Judæis lapis super lapidem poneretur. *Res erat in expectatione.* — Rufini Hist. Eccl. l. x. c. 37, &c.

denly disappeared. It was as it had never been ; and the Temple once more presented itself in its old ruins ; but with a worse face, of horror and desolation. A surprising issue of so much determined power, and immense preparation !

A World, thus attentive and concerned, could not but be desirous of knowing the *cause* of so sudden a change of measures, if it were a change of measures, that influenced the event. Did the Emperor relent ? Did his Agents fail in their obedience ? or were the Jews, on better thoughts, become resigned to their visitation ? Was the purpose diverted by a Foreign invasion, or by Domestic troubles ? Did some hostile Barbarian, at that juncture, break in upon the Empire ; or some rebellious Province suspend and weaken its authority ? Or lastly, did the Christians themselves defeat the insult, by opposing force to force ? One or other of these *causes* must be given, to account for the defeat in a common way : and yet the astonished Inquirer perceived that none of these had any thing to do in it. The Emperor's hatred to our holy Faith kept increasing to his death : *Alypius's* fidelity

lity to his Master, and zeal for the old Superstition were without bounds; and the mad insolence of the *Jews* proved them ready to storm heaven itself to get into their old quarters. The Empire, in all *other* parts, was at peace; and the only Enemies it had, in *these*, were the Persians; who were too much alarmed by Julian's preparations, and too much taken up in putting their own frontiers in a condition of defence, to think of farther provoking him by new inroads into the Empire.

WHAT then would be the state of men's minds on this posture of affairs? Those who were at a distance, would, in their loss for a natural cause, be attentive to what was told them of a miracle<sup>k</sup>. And those who were on the place would want no means of convincing them. For nothing was equivocal. The Directors, the Overseers, and the chief Agents, in this attempt were all scattered and dispersed; and surely, by no panic terror. An Earthquake, that let loose a subterraneous fire, joined to a Heaven all in flames, tore in sunder the Foundations,

<sup>k</sup> Φήμη ἔστι τὸ τόπον ἔχει τὰς πόρῳ ἀλέγοντας.  
Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 20.

destroyed



destroyed the Workmen, and burnt up and consumed the Materials. Effects, which were all the objects of sense, and, what is more, remained so for a long time after. For many of those who survived their fellows, bore about them, the lasting marks of their punishment: And, another religious Revolution coming on, the site of the Temple was suffered to retain that face of ravage and combustion, which the escape of pent-up fires always leaves behind them<sup>1</sup>.

In this account then all Parties must agree. And, by what remains of Antiquity, it appears they did so: A consent, not procured in the way whereby *false* reports of the like kind have sometimes procured it. For this was no trifling event, laid in a remote corner, seen but by a few prejudiced relators, and accompanied only with ambiguous circumstances: In which case, partly from contempt of a thing incredible,

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἔλθῃς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, γυμνὰ ὄψῃ τὰ  
θεμέλια· καὶ ἢ αἰτίαν ζητήσῃς, εἰδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἢ ταύ-  
τιν ἀκύνῃς. καὶ τὰς μαρτυρίας ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
ἴδμεν, εἰ πρὸ πολλῶν ταῦτα γέγονε χρόνος — Chryf. adver.  
Judæos, Orat. v.

partly from neglect of a thing uninteresting, but principally from an indolence that shuns the trouble of examining, many a Monkish Tale hath made its fortune. But here, had the Fact been *groundless*, or the event *different*, their falsehood must have been known to thousands: and what was so easy to be disproved, the interests of thousands would have exposed. Had the circumstances been *ambiguous*, they could not have passed uncontroverted: for This was not of the nature of the Miracle said to be procured by the prayers of the *Thundering Legion*, which only gave testimony to the *power* of Christ, a Matter about which Paganism was very indifferent: This went to the quick, and exposed the impotence and *falsehood* of their Idols, a charge which always put the Gentiles out of temper. But if they were so cold in the cause of Superstition as to need a spur to vindicate its honour, This they had likewise in the triumphs and exultations of the Christian Ministers; who in their Sermons, their Apologies, their Histories, addressed both to friends and enemies, relate the event in all its circumstances; call upon the numerous eye-witnesses to attest the truth; appeal to the

H

standing

standing marks of the fact, the traces of a dreadful exterminating fire over *all* the place, and on *many* of the persons concerned; and, lastly, defy the advocates of Idolatry to gainsay the exactness of their relation.

SUCH is the illustrious Miracle we have here attempted to defend. We have examined it on the severest rules of rational assent. And we find it established on that full concurrence of happy circumstances which, we might expect, should attend a miracle so *singular* in its nature, and so important and *decisive* in its use.

BUT there is one circumstance almost peculiar to it, and, as it crowns all the rest, will deserve our most serious regard. It is this, that the *attempt* and the *issue* are so interwoven with one another, that they must stand or fall together. For whoever allows that *Julian* began to rebuild the Temple which he could not finish, must confess the obstruction came from above, because no human impediment interfered. And whoever denies the obstruction must deny the attempt, because if there were no obstruction of *that kind*, there was none at all: and  
if



there were none at all, then there was nothing to be obstructed. That is, *Julian* never attempted to rebuild the Temple; an inference so furiously sceptical, as would overturn the whole Body of civil history.

## B O O K II.

HAVING now so well established the MIRACLE, we have little need to inquire into the Objections that may be made to it, any further than as we may be led by our own curiosity, or inclined to gratify the curiosity of others, in seeing how far the capriciousness of wanton wit can go in its frolics towards perplexing the plainest and most evident of useful truths.

### C H A P. I.

FIRST then it may be objected, "That the credit of the Miracle rests entirely on the truth of this supposition, *That the holy Oracles of God have declared, that the Jewish Temple should never be rebuilt*: For if this were not predicted, the restoration of it did

not impeach the divine veracity ; nor, consequently, was its honour concerned in frustrating the attempt. Now the word of God no where says that the *Jewish* Temple *should never* be rebuilt ; on the contrary, it insinuates that it *should*. It predicts, in general terms, the *total*, but not *final* destruction of the Temple ; and, in express words, says, That *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles UNTIL the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. Which imply there was to be a period to the desolation, tho' the *time* be so obscurely marked as to make the fixing it uncertain."

THE objection is plausible, and well deserves a solution. On which account (the method of the Discourse concurring) it was thought proper to obviate it in the very entrance on this Argument : where it is shewn, from the nature of the Jewish and Christian Religions, that the *total* destruction, mentioned in the Prophecies, necessarily implied a *final* one : For that, in the order of God's dispensations, the Jewish and the Christian Religions could never stand together : when *This* became established, *That* was to be done away. But while the Temple

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ple remained, Judaism still existed: when That was overthrown, the Religion fell with it; and consequently must rise again with the Temple. But as this Religion was *not* to rise while Christianity continued, the Temple was *never* to be restored. The consequence of all is, that, If it were restored, Christianity could no longer support its pretensions, nor the Prophets nor Jesus the truth of their predictions.

CHAP. II.

SECONDLY, The testimony of *Amm. Marcellinus*, decisive as it is, hath been cavilled. It is suspected, "That He is no *original* Evidence; but hath taken the account he gives us of what then passed at Jerusalem, from the *Christian* writers: the work in which we find it, being composed near twenty years after the event, when the *Fathers* had turned what there was of the natural fact into a Miracle; and, by their declamatory eloquence, had made it famous throughout the now *believing* Empire."

THIS reasoning abounds with absurdities; but the Objection is not of my invention.



It supposes *Marcellinus* to have taken his account from the Christian writers, because there were no other to be had: for if there were other, then the Historian's authority does not rest on their testimony; or, if it does, it rests on a good foundation, the evidence of Christian writers, supported by the Pagan. But is it likely that an Unbeliever, a man of sense, and a lover of truth, should so confide in those of the new Persuasion, speaking in their own cause, and unsupported by other evidence, as to deliver a fact, in terms of absolute certainty, which discredited a Religion he revered, and a Master he idolized? Could we, under these circumstances, suppose him capable of preserving the memory of so unsupported a Story, we should at least look to find it delivered in such terms of doubt and suspicion as he must needs think were justly due unto it.

BUT the Objector seems to have attended as little to the *situation and circumstances*, as to the *character* of the Historian. When this event happened at Jerusalem, *Ammianus* was not in winter-quarters afar off in *Gaul* or *Germany*; but near at hand, in the  
Emperor's

Emperor's court at *Antioch*, and in an office of distinction. The Objector, I suppose, will allow that *Julian* made the attempt. The attempt, I have shewn, was, in its nature, such as must draw the attention of the whole Empire upon it. *Am- mianus* represents it as one of the most considerable enterprises of his Master's reign; and that it was projected to perpetuate his memory. It miscarried. And is it possible the cause of the miscarriage could, at that time, be more a secret to him than the undertaking? Yet, if we believe the Objector, the first news he heard of it was from the Christian Priests. Be it so. I ask no more, to shew the objection devoid of common sense. A Courtier of credit, a curious observer of what passed about him, hears nothing of what happened in his neighbourhood, at the time it did happen, tho' in an affair that engaged all men's attention. Many years after, in hunting for materials to compose his History, he starts this Story. And where, I pray, does he find it, but skulking in the cover of a flowery Homily, or a thorny and perplexed Invective? and on the authority of these loose and prejudiced Declaimers, records it,

in his *Annals*, as a fact unquestionable. Not, as was said, to derive credit to his Master or his Religion, but to entail eternal dishonour upon both: And all this without giving either of them the least relief; as was easy to be done by only telling from whom he had his Story.

IN a word, we see, the objection arises out of this circumstance, *The distance of time between the fact and the historian's account of it.* But such a circumstance can never support a conclusion of this nature, but in the case where a Writer, who had an occasion to speak of a memorable fact at the time it happened, omits to do so; and afterwards, at the distance of many years, records it, without any reason given for his preceding silence. But this was not the case here: *Amm. Marcellinus* tells the story as soon as ever he had an opportunity of so doing; which was when he retired from business to write history. And the distance between *that* and the event is so far from taking from the credit of his relation, that, as was observed, it adds greatly to it.

FOR we cannot but conclude, that, as a Soldier and man of business, he kept a journal



nal of every thing that passed; tho' we should not suppose, what is equally probable, that as a lover of letters he had very early formed his design of writing history. In what, therefore, concerned the transactions of those times, he had a sure and easy way of coming to the truth; which was by comparing his own diary with the later, and better digested, accounts of others. But indeed the *nature* of the fact, and the *quality* of the Writer, shew us, there was little danger of mistake. An authentic account of this whole matter was doubtless amongst the papers of State; to all which our Historian had free access. And if we should suppose his relation to be no other than a faithful abstract of *Alypius's* letter to *Julian*, we should not, I believe, be a great way from the truth. It is certain, that a prudent historian, circumstanced as *Marcellinus* then was, could not have acted a wiser part than to relate so nice an adventure in the very words of the person, to whose conduct it was committed: for in so doing, he found himself in that rare situation of adherence strictly to Truth, without offending either of the Parties who then strove for the possession of it. We may further observe,

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serve; that this supposition clears up another  
Objection which has been made to his nar-  
rative. For,

THIRDLY we are told, "that the testi-  
mony of *Marcellinus* does but half our busi-  
ness: for tho' he gives a circumstantial re-  
lation of the fact, he speaks of it as a na-  
tural, not a miraculous event."

THE former objection, we see, supposes  
he had gone too far; *This*, that he hath not  
gone far enough. And yet I cannot under-  
stand how a professed Pagan could have said  
more, in conscience. This Objector, sure,  
is not so unreasonable to expect, he should  
have recorded the triumphs of the Gospel  
over his own Religion, in the words of the  
Christian writers, Because the other Ob-  
jector had taken it into his head that he was  
beholden to them for his account of the  
story.

THUS far we may be certain, had *Ammi-  
anus* thought it an artifice or imposture, he  
would have contrived to tell us so. For  
what should hinder him? Not any regard  
to the Leaders of the Christian sect, upon  
whom the scandal would have fallen; for  
5 he

he is not backward, on any occasion, to expose their follies and perversities. On the other hand, the general character of Paganism made him very easy not to form any distinct judgment about the matter. Had he had any such inclination, he was fairly invited to it by what he found, and therefore honestly related, of the obstinacy of the eruption, *resolutely bent to drive them to a distance*<sup>a</sup>.

AFTER all, A faithful Historian, thus circumstanced, must be sufficiently distressed.

BUT *Ammianus's* skill was great, like his honesty; and he found a way to disengage himself with honour. Other considerations apart, the fact was too notorious to be smothered, and too important to be passed over: at the same time, the mention of it was nice and delicate; it was like walking over the burning ruins of an unquenched conflagration. Two things, in it, equally required management, the *motive to the attempt*; and the *nature of the*

<sup>a</sup> Hocque modo elemento *destinatus* repellente, cessavit inceptum.

*defeat:*



*defeat*: the one affected the glory of his master; the other, the interests of his Religion. See, now, his address, and how artfully he has come off! *Julian* gave different reasons for his project, as best suited the views he had on those to whom he told it. To the *Jews* he affected compassion for their sufferings, and reverence for their holy rites: To his *Priests* and *Sophists*, we may be confident, he revealed his secret purpose, the disgrace and ruin of Revelation; <sup>b</sup> And to his *Courtiers* and *Military* men he pretended, what was most to their humour, the fame and glory of the enterprise. Tho' *Ammianus* was certainly no Dupe to his professions, yet he found it convenient, and he thought it fair, to convey that motive to posterity, which *Julian* had given to himself. The *defeat* was next to be considered. To own the miracle, would be condemning his *Religion*; explicitly to deny it, would be violating his *Honour*. He avoided this dilemma, by employing the words of the original Relator: And when we see, in his account, the very language of a narrative of state, we can no more

<sup>b</sup>See note (i) p. 93.

doubt that he did employ them, than that *Alypius* himself sent his master a relation of the whole affair.

BUT if the necessity of saying so much distressed his *Principles*, the necessity of saying no more, cramped his *Genius*; which was bold and swelling, and prompt, on these occasions, to pour along the torrent of his eloquence. Hear how pompously he describes an earthquake at *Nicomedia*. —  
 “Eminuere Nicomediæ clades--- But the reader will find the rest below<sup>c</sup>.

“—cujus ruinarum eventum vere breviterque absolvam. Primo lucis exortu die nono kal. Septembrium, concreti nubium globi nigrantium, lætam paulo antè cæli speciem confuderunt: et amandato solis splendore, nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur: ita oculorum obtutu præstricto, humo involutus crassæ caliginis squalor infedit. Dein, velut Numine summo factales contorquente manubias, ventosque ab ipsis excitante cardinibus, magnitudo furentium incubuit procellarum, et elisi literis fragor: hæc quæ secuti typhones atque præsteres, cum horrifico tremore terrarum, civitatem et suburbana funditus everterunt.— Interim clamoribus variis excelsa culmina resultabant, quæritantium conjugium liberosque, et si quid necessitudinis arte constringit. Post horam denique secundam, multo ante tertiam, aër jam sudus et liquidus latentes

HE professes, we see, to tell his story *briefly* and *truly*: And I believe he did so. Yet his *brevity* does not hinder him from specifying the very day, nay even the hour when<sup>d</sup> this or that circumstance was remarked: nor his *truth* from giving us as minute a description of the various kinds of deaths as at a battle in *Homer*. How different is this from his relation of the event at Jerusalem! There he does not so much as

“ rexit funereas strages. Nonnulli enim superruentium  
 “ rudum vi nimia constipata sub ipsis interiere pon-  
 “ deribus. Quidam collo tenus aggeribus obruti, cum  
 “ superesse possent si qui juvissent, auxiliorum inopia  
 “ necabantur. Alii lignorum extantium acuminibus  
 “ fixi pondebant. Uno ictu cæsi complures paullo ante  
 “ homines, tunc promiscuæ strages cadaverum cerne-  
 “ bantur. Quosdam domorum inclinata fastigia intrinse-  
 “ cus ferebant intactos, angore et inedia consumendos.  
 “ — Alii subita ruinæ magnitudine oppressi iisdem adhuc  
 “ molibus conteguntur. Collis quidam capitibus, vel  
 “ humeris præfectis aut cruribus, inter vitæ mortisque  
 “ confinia, aliorum adjumenta paria perferentium im-  
 “ plorantes cum obtestatione magna deserebantur—

He is alike circumstantial in dating that other dreadful commotion which happened in the first consulate of Valentinian and his Brother — “ diem duodecimum Kal. Augustas, Consule Valentiniano primum  
 “ cum fratre, horrendi terrores, &c. l. xxvi. c. 10.”

inform



Book II. *the Temple of Jerusalem.* 10.

inform us of the *Month* in which it happened; we should even have been at a loss for the *Year*; but that the Persian expedition directs us, to which the form of his Annals hath connected it. And so far is he from dwelling upon the slaughter that followed, the too certain consequence of eruptions of this nature, that, had it not been for the Christian writers, we might have suspected his *horrible balls of fire* had contained little more than a lambent flame.

AGAIN, he is not content to relate the *Nicomedian* earthquake, and expatiate only on its *effects*: he is as particular in describing both the *prognostics* that preceded it (such as the firmament overcast, and the day darkened with storms and tempests) and the *symptoms* that attended it, (such as the lightning and whirlwind.) While on the other hand, his account of the disaster in Jerusalem is stript of all these circumstances of terror; tho' they be the constant forerunners and attendants of fiery eruptions; and, if we may believe the Christian writers, did actually precede and accompany this: nor have we any reason to disbelieve them;

\* *Metuendi globi flammaram.*

because

because they speak (as we shall see) of certain phenomena, the natural effects of the disordered elements, which they erroneously ascribe to a different cause.

BUT this is not all, *Ammianus*, to give us the most fearful idea of this desolation at *Nicomedia*, says, the conflict of nature was such, as if the God of Nature himself, armed with all the stores of heaven, was hurling his lightening over a perishing world. But we find not a line of this imagery in the affair at Jerusalem. The Deity is there kept out of sight; tho' the repeated eruptions, which, he says, seemed *obstinately and resolutely bent* to drive the workmen to a distance, drove him to the confines of a superior agency. But he was unwilling, and for a good reason, to call his Readers after him.

WHAT could occasion a conduct so different in a case so similar? Had he related the one as a noted fact, and the other but as an uncertain rumour, something might be pretended. But this makes the difficulty, he tells them both as facts; and facts of equal notoriety and truth. A difficulty nothing can solve but what we have already  
shewn

shewn to be the case, the bashfulness of a backward Evidence.

ON this principle, we see, that his relating the eruption of Jerusalem as a natural event, takes nothing from the reality of the divine interposition. When a Pagan bears testimony to a fact of this importance, we may be as sure it is a *Miracle*, as when a Papist bears testimony to a miracle of no importance at all, we are sure it is a *Trick*.

BUT his *reserve* is so far from depriving us of the benefit of his testimony, that it is that which supports it. Had we found a Pagan speaking like a Christian Father on this occasion, his evidence had soon become as suspected as that of the Jewish historian, where he speaks of *Christ*; which, one of the ablest and most candid of his Critics frankly owns, could never come from him in the condition it is brought down to us. This miracle, without question, embarrassed *Marcellinus* no less than the WORKER of miracles distressed the other Historian: whose case the excellent Writer, just now mentioned, has well described. But had posterity made equally free with both, I should have despaired of disengaging my



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Author with the address and abilities he has  
done *Josephus* <sup>f</sup>.

IN a word, all we want of our adversaries is to have the fact acknowledged as *Ammianus* relates it. Its nature depends neither on his, nor on their, nor on our opinion of the matter, but on the reason of things. We think, indeed, the nature of it speaks itself. But, for the sake of those who think otherwise, I propose, in the course of this examination, to shew, that it was an effect, which no power but that of the moral Governor of the universe was able to produce.

I PROCEED, then, in my subject; to which these cavils are only the prelude, or, as it were, the shadow of the good things to come.

### C H A P. III.

THE next Objection to the fact arises from what, one would have hoped, should have been the chief support of it, THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS. But

<sup>f</sup> See Mr. Forster's Discourse, intituled, *A Dissertation upon the Account supposed to have been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus &c.* Oxon. MDCCXLIX.

their

their credit in the fashionable world is now so low, that if they do not dishonour the cause they appear in, it is all we are to expect from them. For, (as a late writer<sup>s</sup> graciously allows us to believe every strange thing except a Miracle, so,) to say the truth, we are apt enough to credit the wonders of antiquity, all, I mean, but what the *Fathers* would officiously vouch for. And yet, it is very certain, these *Fathers* were, at worst, no more prejudiced in favour of Religion, than their Pagan neighbours were against it. And whether these were Philosophers, Sophists, or Statesmen, if we read their works, we shall find that very credulity, prejudice, false reasoning, and ill faith, which these objectors pretend has been discovered in some of the most celebrated of the *Fathers*.

BUT what is it They have done, in the point in question, that proves so injurious to their own cause? "Why, it seems, they differ greatly from *Ammianus*, in their relation of this extraordinary Fact; by adding many circumstances to his; some of which are utterly incredible."

<sup>s</sup> In a book, intituled, *Philosophical essays concerning human understanding*, printed 1748. p. 199.

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WHETHER it were the *Fathers*, or their *Cause*, which render their accounts incredible, will be seen in due time. At present let me observe, it greatly eases their defence, that it cannot be fairly pretended, that the Christian writers contradict the relation of *Ammianus*, in any the least particular.

IN the *second* place, What I said before, of *Marcellinus's* *subtractions*, I here repeat of the *Fathers's* *additions*; that they are so far from invalidating the fact, that they add greatly to its support. We have shewn *Marcellinus* to be an unwilling evidence, who hath cautiously avoided saying more than was just necessary to save harmless his character of a faithful Historian. It was natural then to expect he had studiously omitted such circumstances as made most for the honour of that cause to which he was neither a friend nor favourer.

*Thirdly*, Admitting it was as is pretended, that incredible things are to be found in their relations: this circumstance will scarce be deemed sufficient to overthrow a well attested fact, by any who consider that such as are best established, have never been ex-



empt from such injurious pollutions. The miracles of *Christ* and his Apostles have not escaped the adulterations of Heretics. And if this were sufficient to discredit Truth, there is not a fact in civil history that would stand its ground. As to those who expect a certain innate virtue in it, of force to extrude all heterogenous mixture, they expect a quality in Truth which was never yet found in it, nor, I fear, ever will. Nay the more notorious a fact of this kind is, that is to say, the more eye-witnesses there are of it, the more subject it is to undesigned depravation; as there must be, amongst a large cloud of evidence, some men of heated fancies: and the greater the communication, and the frequenter the collision, of these warm heads, the more active and inflamed will be the creative faculty of the mind; which, in that state, we find, has always been the seminary of false circumstances of the prodigious kind.

BUT we should grant a great deal too much in allowing this to be the case here. Providence did not do its work by halves; nor was penurious in the grace so seasonably bestowed upon the suffering Church. For,

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what, we have shewn, was performed in the sight of all men, we shall see, was faithfully commemorated by the most celebrated Preachers and Apologists of *that* age; and as soberly and carefully recorded by the best Historians of the *following*. And if, travelling downwards in a blind and heavy road, it contracted some stains of the soil thro' which it passed, it was never so disguised as to have those dirty features mistaken for its natural countenance, by any the least attentive observer.

THE Christian Evidence for the fact are GREGORY NAZIANZEN, AMBROSE, and CHRYSOSTOM. These lived at the time it happened. The next age produced RUFINUS, SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, and THEODRET, whose testimony is perfectly consistent one with the other. In the last place are PHILOSTORGIUS, THEOPHANES, OROSIUS, NICEPHORUS, ZONARAS, and CEDRENU, who, altho' distant in age, are so near allied in judgment, that they are here put together; not to add credit to the cause they serve; but, by separating them from their several contemporaries of a better  
paste

paste and compound, to bear alone the shame of their proper folly or prevarication.

THE original evidence, as we said, are *Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzen.* Of these, *Ambrose* lived far in the West, and having, as may be supposed, received only a general relation of the fact, he delivers it as generally. *Have you not heard* (says he, writing to the Emperor Theodosius) *how when Julian gave command to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, the workmen were destroyed by a FIRE sent from God?*<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> This is an Epistle to the Emperor, written on a very singular occasion—A certain bishop had excited his flock to burn a Jewish synagogue: which being complained of to Theodosius, he ordered the offenders to be punished; and that the bishop should rebuild it at his own expence. The impiety of this sentence was so offensive to Ambrose, that, having reminded the Emperor of the fate of the Jewish Temple, he asks him, whether he does not expect the same dishonours should attend his command, which followed the attempt of Julian. “Non audisti, Imperator, quia cum jussisset Julianus reparari Templum Hierosolymis, quod divino qui faciebant repagulum igne flagrarunt? Non caves ne etiam nunc faciat? Adeo a te non fuit jubendum ut Julianus hoc jufferit.” Ep. xl. It was



IN which may be discerned the different fortune that naturally attends *Truth* and *Falseness*. A Fable, the further it goes, the more it gathers: for, like all untimely productions, coming out, at first, rude and unformed, it leaves room for charitable invention to give it shape; which, by general contribution, soon raises it to a bulk that

well, this miracle was performed by God, to do honour to himself: Had it been to do honour to the Bishops of his Church, we see how little they deserved it! Here is One who violates the civil peace, and invades the religious rights of his neighbour; and Another who supports him in so doing, on the authority of the miracle at Jerusalem. In which they either foully prevaricate; or grossly mistake the purpose of God's interposition. They represent it as intended for an example to the Magistrate to restrain the Jews from all exercise of their Superstition; when it was evidently for no other purpose than to support the truth of the divine predictions concerning the ruin of a certain temple. Theodosius was to expect the fate of Julian. And why? Because he was *supporting* those very rights of nature which Julian then *violated*: For the attempt to rebuild the Temple was but one of the many arts he employed to extirpate the Christian Faith by violence. But it has always been the *trick*, and has often proved the *folly*, of Intolerants, to place their miserable principle on such foundations as are found most of all to discredit it.

looks

looks considerable. Whereas the circumstances of a true story drop off, one after another, as it advances in its progress, till it becomes stript, and contracted to its essence: for there being precision in the testimony of the evidence, and conviction in the nature of the fact, men, on its first appearance, are less solicitous, as they have less need, to support it by its circumstances, than to convey it by its essentials.

*Chrysostom*, indeed, was in the neighbourhood of the place. But, speaking to an Audience as well instructed in the affair as himself, tho' he had frequent occasion to put them in mind of so distinguishing a mercy, yet always dwells in generals; just as he would have done in referring to the crucifixion, or to any other the most known incident in the Gospel. Thus, in his *Discourse against the Jews and Gentiles*, speaking of the desolate condition of the *Temple*, he says--- "For in our times that  
" Monarch, who exceeded all men in his  
" malice to our holy faith, both lent the  
" aid of the Imperial authority, and became  
" an associate in the design. They began  
" the work, but could make no progress;  
" for

“ for a FIRE, bursting from the foundations,  
“ drove away, and dispersed all concerned  
“ in the undertaking :”

THE only contemporary *Father*, therefore, from whom we can expect a detailed history of the event, is *Gregory Nazianzen*. For he, not living at a distance, like *Ambrose*; nor preaching, like *Chrysostome*, to those who knew every circumstance, but residing in these quarters, and writing in defense of our holy faith, against *Julian*, in an appeal to the Roman Empire, was both qualified, by his knowledge, and called upon by the nature of his performance, to be particular in his relation of the fact.

Now, as his account must undergo a severe scrutiny, it will be but fair to give it in his own words. Speaking then of *Julian*, he says,

ἰ — καὶ ὅτι τὸ γένος τὸ ἡμέτερον ὁ πάντας εἰς  
ἀσέβειαν νικήσας βασιλεύς, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν τότε καὶ  
ζωέπρωξεν, καὶ ἔργον ἡψάτο, καὶ ὑδὲ μικρὸν προσελ-  
θὼν ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν θεμελιῶν ἐκπηδῆ-  
σαν πάντας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ ἡλίαςεν. *Adversus Judaeos et Gen-  
tiles*, tom. i.

“ After



“ After having run thro’ a course of every other tyrannical experiment against the Faith, and, upon trial, despising all of them as trifling and contemptible, he, at last, brought down the whole body of the Jews upon us; whom, for their ancient turn to seditious novelties, and an inveterate hatred of the Christian name, he chose as the fittest instruments of his machinations. These, under a shew of great good will, which hid his secret purpose, he endeavoured to convince, from their sacred Books and Traditions, which he took upon him to interpret<sup>k</sup>, that now was come the time foretold, when they should return to their own *Land*, rebuild their *Temple*, and restore the *Law* to its ancient force and splendor. When these things had been thoroughly insinuated, and heartily entertained (for deceit finds easy admittance when it flatters our passions) the Jews set upon the work of rebuilding with great attention, and pushed

\* I think Gregory uses the word *Ἰνδραζεν* ironically, in the sense of pretending to interpret with a prophetic spirit.

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“ on the project with the utmost labour and  
“ application. But when now driven from  
“ their work by a violent Whirlwind and a  
“ sudden Earthquake, they fled together  
“ for refuge to a certain neighbouring church  
“ (some to deprecate the impending mis-  
“ chief; others, as is natural in such cases,  
“ to catch at any help that presents itself;  
“ and others, again, inveloped in the crowd,  
“ were carried along with the body of fly-  
“ ers) there are who say, the church re-  
“ fused them entrance; and that when they  
“ came to the doors, which were wide open  
“ but a moment before, they found them,  
“ on a sudden, closed by a secret and in-  
“ visible hand; a hand accustomed to work  
“ these wonders for the terror and confu-  
“ sion of the impious, and for the security  
“ and comfort of godly men. This how-  
“ ever is now invariably affirmed and be-  
“ lieved by all, That as they strove to force  
“ their way in by violence, the FIRE, which  
“ burst from the foundations of the *Temple*,  
“ met and stopt them, and one part it burnt  
“ and destroyed; and another it desperate-  
“ ly maimed, leaving them a living monu-  
“ ment of God's commination and wrath  
“ against sinners. Thus the affair passed;  
“ and

“ and let no man continue incredulous con-  
 “ cerning this, or the other miraculous  
 “ works of God. But still the thing most  
 “ wonderful and illustrious was a Light,  
 “ which appeared in the heavens, of a Cross  
 “ within a Circle. That name and figure,  
 “ which impious men before esteemed so  
 “ dishonourable upon earth, was now raised  
 “ on high, and equally objected to the  
 “ common view of all men ; advanced, by  
 “ God himself, as the Trophy of his victo-  
 “ ry over Unbelievers ; of all Trophies the  
 “ most exalted and sublime. Nay further,  
 “ they who were present, and partakers of  
 “ the miracle, we are now about to speak  
 “ of, shew, to this very day, the sign or fi-  
 “ gure of the Cross which was then marked  
 “ or impressed upon their garments. For,  
 “ at that time, as these men (whether such  
 “ as were of us, or strangers) were shewing  
 “ these marks, or attending to others who  
 “ shewed them, each presently observed  
 “ the wonder, either on himself or his  
 “ neighbour : having a radiant mark on his  
 “ body or on his garment : in which there  
 “ was something that, in art and elegance,  
 “ exceeded all painting or embroidery <sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> — ἐπεὶ ὅ πάντα διεξιθῶν τὰλλα, καὶ πάντες ἑδοῦ



THIS is the only contemporary writer amongst the Christians who delivers the ac-

καθ' ἡμῶν τυραννίδος, ὡς μικρόν τι καὶ ἀχρυνὲς ἀτι-  
μάσας — τέλει ἐπαφῆκε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων φύλον ἡμῖν,  
καὶ παλαιὰν τε αὐτῶν κρυφότητα, καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνω-  
θεν ὑποστυμνόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς μῖσος συνεργὸν λαβὼν  
καὶ τεχνάσματός, ἐπιθεάζων τε δῆθεν ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
βίβλων καὶ ἀπερρήτων, ὡς νυνὶ αὐτοῖς ἀποκείμενον εἶναι  
καλεσθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναδείμασθαι, καὶ τῶν  
παλαιοῦν τὸ κρεῖττον ἀνανεώσασθαι, καὶ ἀποκρυπτόμενος  
δυνάμεις πλάσσειν καὶ θηρίοισιν, ἐπεὶ ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ διανοή-  
θη, καὶ ἐποίησεν. Ὁμοῦλον γὰρ εἰς ἀπάτην τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν  
ἄπαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες διανοῦντο τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ χει-  
ρὶ πολεῖν, καὶ προθυμίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἰταλαπύρην —  
ὡς ὅτι ὑπὸ αἰτίας λαίλαπτος, καὶ βροχῶν γῆς ἄφνω  
συνελαθόντες ἐπὶ τῷ πλησίον ἱερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐκείνοι-  
σιν ὥρμησαν· οἱ δὲ, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς φίλη συμβαί-  
νειν, τῷ παρόντι χρώμενοι πρὸς βοήθειαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλως τα-  
ραχῇ συμφερόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συνεσπίνοντες· εἰς  
μὲν οἱ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἔδδεν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὸς προσεδέξατο,  
ἀλλ' ἀναπεπλευμένης προσελθόντες τῇ πύλαις, ἐπιτεθεί-  
σας ἐνέτυχον ἐκ τινος ἀοράτου καὶ ἀφανὸς διωάμεως,  
ὅτι τὰ ποταμὰ τεράτρεται πρὸς τὸ ἀσέβων κατὰ πληξιν,  
καὶ τῶν ἀσέβων ἀσφάλειαν. ὁ δὲ ἅπαντες ἤδη καὶ λέγουσι  
πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι βιαζομένης αὐτὸς καὶ φιλονεικίας πρὸς  
τὴν εἰσοδόν, πῦρ ἐσησεν ἀπαντῆσαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ οὐκ  
μὲν κατέφλεξε καὶ ἀνάλωσεν — οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν καυρίων ἀκροή-  
ειάσας, σήλιμ ἀφῆκεν ἐμψυχον τὸ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀμαρ-

count of the miracle *differently* from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that is, with *additional* circumstances. Let us see then what handle he hath given to the Objector.

BUT before we come to examine what he *really* affirms, and takes upon his credit to support; it will be proper to set in a true light what he is only *supposed* to affirm, and what he does not undertake to warrant.

HE tells us, it was reported, that *those who fled for refuge to an adjoining church, whose*

ταλῶν ἀπειλῆς καὶ κινήσεως. τῷ μὲν δὲ πᾶσι, καὶ ἀπιστοῖσι μηδεὶς, ἐτι μὴδὲ ἑτέροις αὖτε τῷ θεῷ διαμένειν. Ὁ δὲ ἐτι περὶ τοῦτον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων, ἐστὶν ὡς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ Σταυρὸν περιέγραψεν. καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀτιμαζόμενον τοῖς ἀθέοις, καὶ ἄνθρωποις καὶ ὄνομα, νῦν ἐν ἔργῳ δεικνύει πᾶσιν ἐπίσημον. καὶ γινέσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ θεῷ τὸ καὶ τῷ ἀσεβῶν νίκης, τροπαίῳ παντὸς ὑψηλότερον — ἐπιδειξάτωσαν ἐτι καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐοδικτάς, οἱ τῷ θαύματι οὐκ ἐκείνους θεαταὶ καὶ μύσται, τὰς τότε κατασημασμένας τοῖς τῷ σταυρῷ στίμασιν. ὅμοιόν τε γὰρ ταῦτα διηγῆται τις [εἴτ' ἂν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, εἴτ' ἂν τῷ ξένῳ] ἢ διηγεμῶν ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ θαῦμα ἰσχυρὰ παρ' ἐαυτῶν, ἢ τῷ πλησίον γινόμενον καλῶς ἐκείνους ὁρῶν ποιεῖτον ἐν τοῖς ἐοδικτάσι, πάσης ἰσχυρῆς ψευδοῦς, ἢ περὶ τῆς ζωγραφίας ποικιλωτέρου ἐν ταῦτα τί γινέσθαι. Orat. iv. adv. Jul.

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*doors were wide open but a moment before,*  
*found them suddenly closed by an invifible*  
*power.---*And, without question, They who  
could not then get in, did believe the impe-  
diment to be miraculous. They did not  
confider, that a frightened croud, all preffing  
to be foremoft, would soon choak up a  
wider paffage than the door of a little ora-  
tory, like this where they fought for refuge,  
had the doors been ftill *open*. But he tells  
us they were fuddenly *closed*: And, if they  
opened outward, the *power* that fhut them  
could be only *invifible* to a blind croud, half  
frighted out of their fenses. And, indeed,  
*Gregory* himfelf intimates, in the following  
words (where he fpeaks of the firey erup-  
tion) that this was not the general opinion;  
and particularly not his own; for he infi-  
nuates what he deemed to be the true caufe  
of the impediment, in telling us *they ftrove*  
*to force their way in by violence*. But (adds  
he) that which followed, namely the erup-  
tion, *is now invariably affirmed and believed*  
*by all*. As much as to fay, time and cool  
examination, which corrected the firft re-  
ports, have left the miraculous circumftance  
of the *impediment* doubtful; but have put  
that of the *eruption* out of all queftion.

THIS



THIS being premised, we come to the circumstances additional to the account of *Marcellinus*. *Gregory* mentions three: 1. *a Whirlwind and Earthquake*. 2. *The Light which appeared in the heavens of a Cross within a Circle*; and 3. *The figure of a Cross on the bodies and garments of the workmen and assistants*. These, indeed, *Gregory* delivers as unquestioned facts, doubted or contradicted by none: And of so trite and frequent mention in the Divines and Historians of this time, that it is observable he tells the main fact, the *fiery eruption*, not directly or absolutely, but only obliquely and occasionally, for the sake of a circumstance not so generally known. Of all these, therefore, it will be incumbent on us to give some good account. I shall try them on the test of *Ammianus's* relation, as that is made (though only for this purpose) the standard of the truth; and doubt not but they will be *all* found very credible, notwithstanding their different degrees of evidence; the first, the Whirlwind and Earthquake, being *necessarily* connected with the Eruption recorded by *Ammianus*; the se-

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cond,

cond, the cross in the Heavens, a *likely* attendant on the then unquiet state of the elements ; and the third, the cross on the garments, very *consonant* to what we know of meteorology.

I. FIRST then, as to the *Earthquake*. Natural history informs us, that firey eruptions, of which it makes frequent mention, are always preceded by an *earthquake*. And, indeed, the obvious nature of the thing instructs us, it can hardly be otherwise ; the force of fire making its way thro' a heavy load, opposed to its explosion, cannot but throw the incumbent earth into convulsive struggles, during the agitation. And this tumult in the *inferior* elements must needs communicate itself to the adjoining parts of the *superior*. Hence it hath so generally happened, that the disorder below has been accompanied with the like above ; such as fierce *Whirlwinds* and a troubled sky : this was the first signal of the like dreadful conflict in the desolation at Nicomedia, as *Amianus* himself relates it.--- “ Concreti nubium globi nigrantium, lætam paullo ante  
“ cœli speciem confuderunt, ventosque ab  
“ ipsis

“*ipsis excitante cardinibus,*” &c. Thus far, therefore, *Gregory's* account is not only agreeable to the usual course of things, in their unquiet state, but the appearances are told in their order; the *whirlwind*, the *earthquake*, and the *fire*.

2. *The light which was seen in the heavens of a Cross within a Circle*, is the second thing we are to speak to. Of this kind of phenomenon, the *Ecclesiastical*, the *Civil*, and the *Natural* history, both of ancient and modern ages, affords us so many instances, that it will give us very little trouble. Not to keep the Reader in suspense, it was neither more nor less than one of those meteoric lights, in a still and clouded sky, which are not unfrequently seen in solar or lunar halos: And when the parhelia, and paraselenes, which sometimes attend them, are added to that appearance, we can easily conceive how greatly the pomp of them must be increased. To support this account, we may observe, that this celestial Cross was not seen till the conflict in the sky was over: it being the night after the Storm, and the night after that, as *Theodoret*<sup>m</sup> in-

<sup>m</sup> — καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν νύκτα καὶ αὐτὴν πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ,



forms us ; where, by the way, we may observe, this was a lunar halo.

It was the same appearance, from whence (as *Eusebius* and others tell us) *Constantine the Great* drew the happy presage of an approaching victory : it was the same which *Cyril of Jerusalem* saw over that city, in the time of his son *Constantius* ; to whom the good bishop sent the news, and, indeed, endeavoured to make the most of it. The Historians of the middle ages have, at different times, occasionally mentioned the like appearances ; and, generally, mentioned them as miraculous. Since the revival of learning, the Naturalists and Astronomers have taken notice of such as happened in their times ; and have attempted to explain their physical causes.

BUT here I find what I had farther to say, on this subject, already done to my hands, in a very ingenious and learned discourse <sup>n</sup> of the excellent *J. A. Fabricius* :

ὡφθη ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῆς σωτηρίας σου πρὸς ἡμᾶς φαιδρῶν.

*Eccl. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.*

<sup>n</sup> Intit. *Exercitatio critica, qua disputatur, Crucem, quam in cœlis vidisse se juravit Constantinus imp. fuisse*

to which, with much satisfaction, I refer the Reader : For it is not my way to repeat what others have proved before me ; or to defraud them of the praises due to their discoveries.

I WILL only make one observation. All these meteoric crosses are represented as being encompassed by a luminous Circle. A circumstance, which, if but commonly attended to, would have betrayed their original. But so far from that, the *Circle* was brought as a convincing argument of their being miraculous. With this, *Gregory* triumphs ° over the Mathematicians or Astrologers ; and defies them to account for it by their rules of art. Would the Reader know the ground of so gross a delusion ? It was no more than this, The *Circle* was so established an emblem of victory, that, like one of *Epicurus's Simulacra*, (the exuviae of bodies, as these of minds) they regarded it as the *moral Phantom* that proclaimed *Julian's*

*phænomenon naturale in halone solari.* Vid. Bib. Græc. vol. vi.

° Πῶς οὐ τῶν ἔχουσιν ΚΥΚΛΟΝ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς μαθή-  
μασι ; — Οὐτὸς δὲ Χρῆστος ΝΙΚΗΣ ὁ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ.  
Orat. iv.

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defeat.

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defeat. For figure and rhetoric had, in most  
times, but especially in those, been an over-  
match for reason and science.

3. BUT the last circumstance (say the  
Objectors) so far exceeds all the common  
lengths of credulity, that its invention must  
have put Fancy to the stretch, and even  
Fraud itself to the blush: and this is, the  
*mark of the Cross impressed upon the bodies,*  
*or garments, of the people present.*

As extraordinary as this may seem, I do  
not despair of regaining those whom it hath  
most revolted.

BUT first it will be necessary to call in a  
Writer of the next Class, and consider his  
words---“When therefore (says *Socrates*) a  
“vast number were assembled on the place,  
“another prodigy happened; for a FIRE  
“FELL FROM HEAVEN, which consumed  
“all the workmens tools<sup>p</sup>.” As this Hi-  
storian is the only writer who explicitly<sup>q</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Παρόντων ἦν σφόδρα πολλῶν, ἕτερον τεράσιον ἐπι-  
γίνειαι. πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἑρανοῦ καίασκῆψαν, πάντα τὰ  
τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἐργαλεῖα διέφθικεν. Soc. L. iii. c. 20,

<sup>q</sup> *Philestorgius*, by the mode of his expression and

mentions



mentions *Lightening*, and its effects; it will be proper to consider its credibility. Under the last head we have shewn, how a firey eruption must occasion a previous earthquake; and this earthquake, a stormy sky. But air, put into a violent motion, always produces *lightening*, when it abounds with matter susceptible of inflammation. And those columns of air, which lie over places that labour with convulsive throws to cast out an inkindled matter from its entrails, must needs be impregnated with vast quantities of sulphureous particles, which the earth, in that condition, exsudes from its pores, and which the solar heat draws upwards. But the natural history of these eruptions supports this reasoning. And *Ammianus*, whose evidence we have so often appealed to, gives us an example of it in the before-cited case of the *Earthquake* at *Nicomedia*, attended, as appears by his account, with a firey eruption, like *that* at *Jerusalem*. Now this historian tells us,

by the order in which he puts things, seems as if he meant this fire, in the following words; τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τοὺς ἐργάζεσθαι πλῆμνιαις. τῷ δὲ, σεισμὸς ἐχώνηεν. Ex. Lib. vii. c. 9.

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that there, the Earthquake was preceded by  
*Lightening*, as well as storms, --- “Con-  
“creti nubium globi nigrantium, lætam  
“paullo ante cœli speciem confuderunt---  
“Dein velut numine summo *fatales contor-*  
“*quente manubias* ventosque ab ipsis exci-  
“tante cardinibus, &c. --- hæcque secuti  
“typhones atque presteres, cum horrifico  
“*tremore terrarum.*” The same, he affirms  
of that more dreadful Earthquake which  
happened in the first Consulate of Valenti-  
nian and his Brother. “Paulo post lucis ex-  
“ortum, densitate prævia fulgurum acrius  
“vibratorum tremefacta concutitur omnis  
“terreni stabilitas ponderis”---

LIGHTENING therefore, we see, is one  
of the constant concomitants in this Deso-  
lation.

Now lightening is formed by the fer-  
ment and explosion of sulphureous and bi-  
tuminous exhalations from the earth, mix-  
ing with nitrous acids in the air. And as  
this mixture, or combination, is variously  
proportioned, according to the then casual  
concourse of elementary particles, so its de-  
structive effects are various. Sometimes it

hath been known to scorch up the cloaths without penetrating the body; and, sometimes again, to break all the bones without discolouring the flesh or cloaths; nay, even to melt the sword without injuring the scabbard. In the *first* case we must conclude, the sulphur predominated; in the *latter*, the salts. And according to *this* proportion, the lightening in question seems to have been formed. For, they tell us, it melted the iron instruments, but hurt neither the cloaths nor flesh; on which it affixed a cross, without any sensible notice at the time of the impression. For I make no scruple to affirm, that this mark was the natural effect of lightening, so constituted,

THAT lightening falls in regular figures, hath been frequently observed. The most unlikely, one should think, is the circular; and yet, in that, it hath been commonly known to fall: the most likely is the angular, (and a *cross* is but two straight lines meeting at right angles) yet this hath been more rare.

BUT, it will be said, "the Fathers make it a matter of much more importance: And the fantastic things they tell of these *Crosses*,

ex-



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exclude both Nature and Miracle; and admit of no other cause but Fraud or Fanaticism; even though we should substract from the account the contradictions that arise from their joint testimony. *Gregory*<sup>s</sup> and *Socrates*<sup>t</sup> say these Crosses were shining and radiated: but *Theodoret*<sup>v</sup> tells us, they were not bright and shining, but shaded with a dark colour: again, *Rufinus* and *Socrates* affirm, they were by no means to be washed out v."

ALL this, it must be owned, hath the rank air of inventive Prodigy. Yet view it well, and you see Nature breaking in upon you. In a word, the Fathers could have said nothing more corroborative of our account; which reduces them to a natural phænomenon: for the qualities they give to these crosses, not only shew them to be

<sup>s</sup> Κατάσερος. <sup>t</sup> Τῇ ἐρχομένῃ νυκτὶ, σφραγίδες αὐτοῦ ἀκλινάειν.

<sup>v</sup> Οὐκ ἔτι μέντοι Φωτοειδῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ μελαίνης καλῶσκειν ασμένων χειρῶν. L. iii. c. 20.

<sup>w</sup> Ut etiam qui diluere pro sui infidelitate voluisset, nullo genere valeret abolere. *Ruf.* — ἀποπλύνειν καὶ ἀποσμήχεν θείων, ἔδει τρόπῳ ἡδυνάτο. *Socr.*

*meteoric,*

*meteoric*, but inform us of their very *specific* nature ; which was precisely that of the PHOSPHORUS.

THEY shone by night, and were dark, and smokey coloured by day (for thus, the different accounts of their appearance, given us by *Gregory* and *Theodoret*, are plainly to be reconciled, by the testimony of *Rufinus* \*) the very property both of natural and artificial *Phosphori*. Of the *first* kind, are insects, rotten-wood, shell-fish, tainted flesh, scales, feathers, of certain animals, &c. Of the *latter*, that solid body, in particular, made from urine (for almost all bodies will afford it) with which, if one writes, as with a pencil on paper, the letters, in the night, will appear like flame, and, in the day time, present only a dim, smokey suffusion.

THE reader will be further confirmed in this opinion, if he considers of what the *artificial Phosphorus* is composed ; which is chiefly a fixed salt, obtained by a long process by fire ; in the course of which much of this element seems to be imbibed : so as

\* In sequenti nocte in vestimentis omnium signaculum crucis ita evidens apparuit. *Hist. Eccl.* l. x. c. 37.

to give the minute parts of the phosphorus the proper motion and agitation to produce light. Now the salts were predominant in the lightening in question, as appears by its violent effects on metals, and its innocuous contact with softer bodies. And we can easily conceive how that high ferment, by which lightening is formed, may produce a *natural* phosphorus, in the same manner as a long process by fire makes the *artificial*.

THIS will account too for the difficulty in washing out the marks. Those on the bodies would sooner disappear; those on the habits more slowly. And it is observable, that, though *Gregory* tells us, the Curious yet produced (when he wrote) the marks on the garments; he says nothing of those on the bodies.

AND now, I presume, the candid Reader may be disposed to abate his wonder, and inclined to give the *Fathers* credit for the facts, how much soever they might be mistaken in the immediate cause of them: and the Unbeliever from the fate of so *promising an Objection*, may be taught the use of modesty and diffidence, when he opposes his




his own Reason to the Truths that establish Revelation.

BUT to put the matter farther out of doubt, I shall produce a passage from the *Adversaria* of the famous ISAAC CASAUBON, written while in *England*, and, as his son *Meric* conjectures (to whom we are indebted for it) about the year 1610-11. It follows in these words: "This day the lord bishop  
" of *Ely*<sup>1</sup>, a prelate of great piety and holiness, related to me a wonderful thing.  
" He said he had received the account from  
" many hands, but chiefly from the lord  
" bishop of *Wells*, lately dead<sup>2</sup>, who was  
" succeeded by the lord *Montague*; that in  
" the city of *Wells*, about fifteen years ago,  
" one summer's day, while the people were  
" at divine service in the cathedral church,  
" they heard, as it thundered, two or three  
" claps above measure dreadful; so that the  
" whole congregation, affected alike, threw  
" themselves on their knees at this terrifying sound. It appeared, the lightening  
" fell at the same time, but without harm  
" to any one. So far, then, there was no-

<sup>1</sup> Doctor *Lanc. Andrews*, afterwards bishop of *Winchester*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. *John Still*.



" thing

“ thing but what is common in the like  
 “ cases. The wonderful part was this,  
 “ which afterwards was taken notice of by  
 “ many, that the marks of a Cross were  
 “ found to have been imprinted on the bo-  
 “ dies of those who were then at divine ser-  
 “ vice in the cathedral. The bishop of  
 “ *Wells* told my lord of *Ely*, that his wife  
 “ (a woman of uncommon probity) came  
 “ to him, and informed him, as of a great  
 “ miracle, that she had then the mark of a  
 “ cross impressed upon her body. Which  
 “ tale when the bishop treated as absurd, his  
 “ wife exposed the part, and gave him ocu-  
 “ lar proof. He afterwards observed, that  
 “ he had upon himself, on his arm (as I  
 “ take it) the plainest mark of a . Others  
 “ had it on the shoulder, the breast, the  
 “ back, or other parts. This account that  
 “ great man, my lord of *Ely*, gave me in  
 “ such a manner, as forbade me even to  
 “ doubt of its truth <sup>a</sup>. ”

<sup>a</sup> Rem miram mihi narrabat hodie Dom. Episcopus  
 Eliensis, sanctæ pietatis Antistes. Dicebat se accepisse  
 à multis sed præcipue à Dom. Episcopo Vellenfi nū-  
 per mortuo, cui successit Dom. Montacutus: evenisse  
 ante annos circiter xv, in urbe Wella, sive ea dicenda,

HERE, then, we have the very same event, happening from the same cause, the *burst of lightening*. The only difference is, that *here* the *cross* appeared upon the bodies only: *there* both on the cloaths and bodies. A difference which the more or less subtilty of the meteoric matter would occasion.

THE fact, we find, is as well attested as a fact can possibly be. A bishop, of the

Valla, die quadam æstiva, ut, dum in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali populus sacris vacabat, duo vel tria tōnitrua inter plura audirentur, supra modum horrenda, ita ut populus universus in genua *μὴ ὀφείλῃ* procumberet ad illum sonum terribilem. Constitit fulmen simul cecidisse, sine cujusquam damno tamen. Atque hæc vulgaria. Illud admirandum, quod postea est observatum à multis, repertas esse crucis imagines impressas corporibus eorum, qui in ædē sacra tum fuerant. Dicebat Episcopus Valensis D. Eliensi, uxorem suam (honestissima ea scēmina fuit) venisse ad se, et ei narrasse pro grandi miraculo sibi in corpore impressa  signa extare; quod cum risu exciperet Episcopus, uxor, nudato corpore, ei probavit verum esse quod dixerat. Deinde ipse observavit sibi quoque ejusdem  manifestissimam imaginem impressam esse, in brachio, opinor; aliis in humero, in pectore, in dorso, aut alia corporis parte. Hoc vir maximus, Dom. Eliensis, ita mihi narrabat, ut vetaret de veritate historiæ ambigere. *Ex Advers. Is. Casaubon, apud Mer. Casaubon in tract. intit. Of credulity and incredulity, p. 118.*

greatest



greatest name in his time for virtue and knowledge, receives it from an eye-witness, and a party concerned, a bishop likewise of an irreproachable character, and tells it to a Man whose candid honesty and well-digested learning had rendered him one of the greatest ornaments of the age in which he lived. This account his son, a man of learning likewise, and of approved integrity, finds under his father's own hand, in his *Adversaria*, and gives it to the world; with this additional information, that he, the son, who had been beneficed in *Somersetshire*, had never heard the fact disputed, but had frequently met with several who pretended to a perfect knowledge of it.

To this let me add, that Religion was out of the question. Here was no Church, or Churchman, no Sect or Doctrine, to be confuted or established, by the attestation of a Prodigy. The great Critic speaks of it as a physical, though a wonderful event. The very Bishops deliver it to one another, and to him, as only an escape of Nature. The Bishop's Wife indeed, at first, seemed a little planet-struck with superstition; and while she thought herself only distinguished with

with this badge of sanctity, was very willing it should pass for a *Miracle*. But the honest bishop laughed her out of this conceit: and when she found how small a part of the honour was likely to fall to her share, she seemed content to submit it to her husband's better judgment.

Now, as Religion and religious purposes had nothing to do in this wonder, that extraordinary Philosopher<sup>b</sup>, once before quoted, will permit us to give it credit.

It is indeed so well proved, as to bear much weightier observations than any I have to lay upon it: what I have to say being only this, 1. That the two or three dreadful explosions perfectly agree with what hath been observed of the compency of that lightening which produces such an effect; namely, that it abounded with nitrous and fixed salts. 2. The relation says, it was some time after that the Crosses were found upon the bodies of the patients; and that the bishop observed one upon himself on talking with his wife about it. This may give light to a passage in

<sup>b</sup> The author of *Philosophical Essays*, &c.

Gregory, which has the air of mystery, and yet amounts to no more than what the simpler and less sublime pen of this modern critic explains. The words of Gregory are these: *As they were shewing these marks, or attending to others who shewed them, each presently observed the wonder, either on himself or his neighbour; a radiant mark on his body or his garment.*

BUT suppose it should be said, "That the circumstance of *Lightening*, on which we pretend to explain this Phænomenon, is not sufficiently established; as it is mentioned but by one Historian; and only in two words; and by the general name of a *Fire from Heaven.*" Whoever says it, will gain little, if his design be to invalidate the circumstance; and yet less, if he thinks that the discredit of that circumstance will deprive us of the means of accounting for the *Crosses*. For it appears, from the nature of things already explained, that a *Fire from beneath* might produce this effect as naturally as a *Fire from above*. And by a relation, as well attested and notorious as the fact preserved in *Casaubon*, we have a famous instance of its having actually produced



duced it. The excellent Mr. BOYLE, in his *Discourse of some unbeeded causes of the insalubrity and salubrity of the Air*, gives us the following history from *Kircher* and others.—“ And that the subterranean ef-

“ fluvia may produce effects, and therefore  
 “ probably be of natures very uncommon,  
 “ irregular, and, if I may so speak, extra-  
 “ vagant, may appear in those *prodigious*  
 “ CROSSES that were seen in our time, viz.  
 “ in the year 1660, in the kingdom of Na-  
 “ ples, after the *eruption of the firey moun-*  
 “ *tain Vesuvius*; of which prodigies the  
 “ learned *Kircherus* has given an account in  
 “ a particular *Diatribè*: for these *crosses*  
 “ were seen on linen-garments, as shirt-  
 “ sleeves, womens’ aprons, that had lain  
 “ open to the air, and upon the exposed  
 “ parts of sheets; which is the less to be  
 “ admired, because, as *Kircher* fairly gues-  
 “ ses, the mineral vapours were, by the texture  
 “ that belongs to linen (which consists of  
 “ threads crossing one another, for the most  
 “ part, at or near right angles) easily de-  
 “ termined to run along in almost straight  
 “ lines, crossing each other, and conse-  
 “ quently to frame spots resembling, some  
 “ one, and some another kind of *crosses*.

“ These were *extremely numerous* in the se-  
 “ veral parts of the kingdom of *Naples*; in-  
 “ somuch that the *Jesuit*, that sent the re-  
 “ lation to *Kircher*, says, that he himself  
 “ found thirty in one Altar-cloth, that fif-  
 “ teen were found upon the smock-sleeve  
 “ of a woman, and that he reckoned eight  
 “ in a boy's band: also their colour and  
 “ magnitude were very unequal, and their  
 “ figures discrepant, as may appear by ma-  
 “ ny pictures of them drawn by the Rela-  
 “ tor; *they would not wash out with simple*  
 “ *water, but required soap*; their *duration*  
 “ was also unequal, some lasting ten or fif-  
 “ teen days, and others *longer*, before they  
 “ disappeared.”

I. THE first observation I shall make on  
 this curious narrative, is, that these *Vesuvian*  
*crosses* appear to have been impressed only  
 on the garments, and not on the bodies:  
 just contrary to those, occasioned by the  
 lightening at *Wells*; which were on the bo-  
 dies, and not on the garments: while the  
*Julian* crosses appeared on *both*. The Read-  
 er, therefore, if he likes it, may suppose,

\* Works of Mr. Boyle, in fol. Vol. iv. p. 293.

without

without any absurdity, that in the case at *Jerusalem*, the crosses on the bodies were caused by the *Lightening*; and the crosses on the garments, by the *eruption from the foundations*.

2. THE *Vesuvian* crosses were extremely numerous; which agrees well with the relations of *Sozomene* and *Theodoret*, the last of whom says, their garments were filled with them.

3. THESE *Vesuvian* crosses were hardly to be washed out: which exactly agrees with what *Socrates* and *Rufinus* tell of the same remarkable quality in the crosses at *Jerusalem*.

4. LASTLY, we understand, that the marks of some of these were of considerable duration; as were those mentioned by *Gregory Nazianzene*; which, he says, continued to the time he wrote,

So much then for the contemporary Evidence; which, tho' *Fathers of the Church*, are come off, we see, with honour: and most so in a circumstance of a very delicate nature.

IN the next class are *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomene*, and *Theodoret*. And all They add



to the miraculous of Gregory's relation, are these two particulars, 1. The *Lightening*, or a fire from heaven, mentioned by *Socrates*. And, 2. this other circumstance, told us by *Theodoret*, that *when they began to dig the foundations, and carry out the earth, an incredible number of people was employed all day long upon the work. But in the night, the earth, thus taken out, returned, of its own accord, from the valley into which it had been thrown*.

THE case of the *Lightening* hath been considered already, where it was brought in to explain the nature of the *Crosses*. And, on that occasion, its close connexion with the rest of the *Phænomena* was examined and explained.

WHAT rests to be accounted for is only the *filling again of the foundations* with the earth that had been thrown out. And this appears to be one of those natural events, which, when mens minds are possessed with

\* Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐρίτην ἤρξαντο καὶ τὸν χοῦν ἐκφορεῖν, πανημέριον μὲν τοῦτο ἔδρων μυριάδες πολλαί. νύκτωρ δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὐτομάτως ἀπὸ τῆς Φάραγος μετετίθητο. Eccl. Hist. L. iii. c. 20.

miracles

miracles (whether real or imaginary) they are wont to explain into prodigies: of the same nature and origine, doubtless, with that imagination in *Gregory*, that when the croud, which were tumultuously breaking into the church, had stopped up the passage, they were kept back by an invisible hand. For admit the fact as *Theodoret* relates it, that the *foundations* were filled again, and the *valley*, into which the earth had been thrown, was emptied; nothing was more natural than for an *Earthquake* to do both, if it did any thing at all. The usual effect it is observed to produce, being an entire alteration in the face of things; such as the filling what is empty, and the emptying what is full. *Cassiodorus*, called *the Senator* (who abridged the *Tripartite History* which *Epiphanius Scholasticus* composed out of those of *Socrates*, *Sozomene*, and *Theodoret*) smoothes what looked too rugged in this miracle, by the lightness and currency of his expression, *nocte vero spontanea terra de valle crescebat*<sup>e</sup>; suffering the reader to go at his pleasure into the solution here given: In support of which it will be proper to observe, that the shocks of the *Earthquake*

<sup>e</sup> L. vi. c. 43.

were repeated at different times. *Gregory*, we see, tells us of one which happened by day, when the labourers were driven for refuge to a neighbouring church. On the other hand, *Socrates* as expressly mentions one by night<sup>f</sup>: the very same (as appears from the similarity of the effects) which *Socrates* speaks of, in these words: *On the coming day, when they were to begin with the foundation, a great Earthquake happened<sup>g</sup>: Sozomene's* cast out stones from the foundation; so did that of *Socrates*<sup>h</sup>. It overturned a Portico, and crushed to death several who were then abiding in it<sup>i</sup>: And this *Theodoret* expressly says happened by night, and to men asleep<sup>k</sup>,

<sup>f</sup> Διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς σεισμὸς μέγας ἐπιγενόμενος. L. iii. cap. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Λέγεται τῆς ἐπιστῆς, καθ' ἣν πρῶτον θεμέλιον ἡμελλόν ὑποτίθεσθαι, σεισμὸν γενέσθαι μέγαν. L. v. c. 22.

<sup>h</sup> Ἀνέβρασε τὰς λίθους τῶν πάλαι θεμέλιον τῆς ναῦ. Socrat.

<sup>i</sup> Ὑπὸ δὲ κλόνε τῆς γῆς ἐκ βάθρων ἀναδοθῆναι τοὺς λίθους. Sozom.

<sup>j</sup> Καὶ δημόσιαι Στοαι ἐν αἷς κατέλυον ἀθρόον κατερῖ-  
ρῆσαν καὶ οἱ πλείους ἐγκαταληφθέντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα  
ἀπώλοντο, &c. Sozom.

<sup>k</sup> Καὶ Νύκτωρ δὲ παμπόλλων ἐν τινὶ πελαζούσῃ καθ-



THE order, or, to speak more properly, *casual* disposition of *Theodoret's* relation, is this:—The miraculous filling again of the foundations—The dispersion of the lime and sand by tempests—The earthquake—After that the eruption, and then, for a close, the fall of the Portico.

FROM hence I would observe, 1. That, though *Theodoret*, by the turn of his expression, would seem to insinuate, that the eruption followed the earthquake very speedily<sup>1</sup>; yet we see by *Sozomene*, there was a considerable space between; sufficient to clear again the foundations from the ruin they had suffered<sup>m</sup>. But lest it should be said (as it hath been observed there were shocks of an earthquake at *different* times) this might be what immediately preceded that erup-

ευδόνων Στοᾶ, καὶ κινήθη μὲν αἰθρώως σὺν τῷ ὀρόφῳ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα· τοὺς δὲ καθεύδοντας συνέχωσεν ἀπαιίας. Theodor.

<sup>1</sup> Πρῶτον μὲν σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγιστος—ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ ἔδεισαν, πῦρ ἐκ τῶν ὀρευσσομένων θεμελίων ἀναδραμόν, &c. Theodor.

<sup>m</sup> Ὡς δὲ σείων ἔληξεν ὁ Θεός, αὐθις ἐπερῶντο τὰ ἔργου οἱ περιλειφθέντες—πάλιν ἀνήνυτο ἐσπένδαζον. λόγῳ· ἐν ᾧμα τε τὸ δεύτερον ἐνεχείρουν τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ πῦρ, &c. Sozom.

tion,

tion, it will be proper to take notice, that the reflection *Theodoret* makes upon it is the very same with, and, indeed, appears to be borrowed from, what *Socrates* makes on the earthquake, which he expressly says happened by night<sup>m</sup>. Now, between this, and the eruption, he tells us, there was time sufficient for many to come out of the country to *Jerusalem*, whither the fame of the earthquake had brought them<sup>n</sup>. But *Theodoret's* own expression helps us to ascertain the thing. He says the fire broke out, ἐκ τῶν ὀρυσσομένων θεμελίων, from the foundations which were ready dug, in order to be built upon, which supposes what *Sozomene* says, to be true, that there was time to repair the disorders which that shock of the earthquake had occasioned.

AND thus *Cassiodorus* understood him : For, speaking, as we observed above, of this

<sup>m</sup> Δέ τ' ἐκ τῶν γενομένων Ἰερουσαλὴν κατέλαβεν. *Socrat.*  
Καὶ τὰς πάντεσσι ἀμνηστὺς τῶν θείων ἱκανῶς κατέπληξεν. *Theodor.*

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ φήμη ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόρτας διαγούσας, παρόντων ἂν σφόδρα πολλῶν, ἕτερον τεράσιον ἐπιγίνειν, πῦρ γάρ, &c. *Socrat.*

mira-

miraculous return of the earth, he says, *every thing was prepared anew*°.

By this time the Reader begins to see day, through the thick confusion of *Theodoret's* cloud of circumstances: in which, his addition of the wonderful, in filling again the works, amounts only to this, that an Earthquake, in the night, tumbled some rubbish into the *foundations*; and forced some out from a *valley* into which it had been thrown.

THE disjointed parts in *Gregory*, *Socrates*, and *Sozomene*, and which are still further distorted by *Theodoret*, the Latin Historian *Rufinus* fairly reduces to their place. “ Be-  
“ hold, (says he) in the *night*, the last that  
“ preceded the day for laying the founda-  
“ tion, a prodigious earthquake arises, by  
“ which, not only the stones of the founda-  
“ tions are cast abroad and dispersed, but  
“ almost all the edifices, that were about  
“ the place, are thrown down and levelled.  
“ Public Porticos also, in which a great  
“ multitude of *Jews*, who were observed

° Nocte vero spontanea terra de valle crescebat. Solutis itaque prioris etiam fundamenti reliquiis, nova omnia præparabant. L. vi. c. 43.



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“to push on the work with most vigour;  
“had their abode, being thrown down;  
“bury all that are found under them in  
“their ruins<sup>p</sup>.” Thus *Rufinus*, by fairly  
*putting together* the several parts of one event,  
hath shewn, that levelling the ground, and  
overthrowing the porticos, were the simple  
consequences of the earthquake: while  
*Theodoret*, by *disjointing* them, and deliver-  
ing the effects separately, and without their  
common cause, hath made two miracles out  
of one natural event.

THE Reader now sees what the FATHERS  
have to say on the occasion. He has had  
their testimony laid at large before him.  
Let us stop a moment then, and cast a ge-  
neral eye upon the whole, I persuade my-  
self we shall see such a concurrence and  
consistency in the accounts of the TWO  
PARTIES; so perfect an agreement be-

<sup>p</sup> Ecce, Nocte, quæ ad incipiendum opus jam sola  
restabat, Terræ motus ingens oboritur, et non solum  
fundamentorum saxa longeque lateque jactantur, verum  
etiam totius pene loci ædificia complanantur. Porticus  
quoque publicæ, in quibus Judæorum multitudo, quæ  
operi videbatur insistere, commanebat, ad solum de-  
ductæ, omnes Judæos, qui reperti sunt, oppressere.  
L. x. c. 37. &c.

tween

tween the Pagan testimony, and the *first* class of Christian writers; so close a dependency between *these* and the *second* class; and such a connection and enchainment of one fact to another, throughout the whole, as will force the most backward to confess, that the hand of God was of a truth in this wonderful defeat.

*Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Julian*, and *Ambrose*, speak simply of the firey eruption; *Chrysostome* goes one step further, and tells us of its fatal effects. *Gregory* enters more minutely into the affair: he ushers it in with what is always found to be the precursors of this dreadful judgment, *Storms* and *Earthquakes*: and closes the scene with two meteoric *Phænomena*, likely enough to succeed it, though, indeed, not so much in the way of common observation.

THE following writers, *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomene*, and *Theodoret*, add little to these relations. But the manner in which they tell their story (at the same time that it confirms, and explains the accounts of those who went before) proves they are not mere transcribers from their predecessors; at least not from such of them as now remain; which

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which amounts to the same as if they themselves were original.

Thus, for instance, *Gregory*, indeed, mentions the *Cross* upon the Garments; but it is to *Socrates* only, who speaks of the *lightening*, that we owe the knowledge of the cause.

So again, *Gregory* calls them *lucid crosses*; but we are indebted to *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, and *Theodoret*, for the discovery of their specific nature; who tell us, that they shone by night, were dark-coloured by day, and could not easily be washed out.

THIS will lead us to observe another mark of truth in these relations; That the most wonderful circumstances, such as the *qualities* of these Crosses, and the *lucid circle* round the *aerial cross* (circumstances which might seem to be made at pleasure for the sake of the Marvellous) prove to be the *very qualities* which belong physically to their respective natures.

NAY, where their prepossessions had led them to find Prodigies in accidents the most common; as where *Gregory* ascribes the impediment to enter the Church doors to an invisible hand; and *Theodoret*, the filling  
which



ing up the foundations, to be the return of the same earth back to its post; they have themselves honestly recorded those very *facts* which enable us to rectify their mistakes: Thus the *confusion* of the croud, which *Gregory* mentions, when they were endeavouring tumultuously to force their way, very naturally accounts for the impediment: and the *Earthquake*, *Theodoret* speaks of, could not but produce that new face in the foundations, which he took to be miraculous.

ONCE more. The *Fathers* indeed record many dreadful circumstances: but then none of them prove false terrors. If there were *Storms* and *Tempests*, they do their work; the sand and lime are dispersed: When the *Lightening* falls, the tools and instruments of building are consumed and melted: The *Earthquake* overthrows porticos: The *firey Eruption* tears in pieces the foundations: and not one of these attacks upon Impiety, but what disperses, maims, or destroys the assembled Workmen, and their Abettors.

AFTER this too we are told, the various effects it had upon the minds of all, how  
disse-

differently soever interested. This is of more importance than appears at first sight. Invention and fable is not wont to go thus far. It may tell us of *appearances*; but it will never venture to speak of *effects*, which the hearer could immediately disprove. That which has a fairy entrance, has a fairy exit. Here the effects are mentioned that the truth may be examined. *Chrysostome* actually appeals, for the reality of the *eruption*, to the sight of the burnt and shattered foundations, and to the maimed and scorched survivors amongst the workmen. And All of them might have appealed, for the reality of the *storms* and *lightening* (which dispersed the lighter materials, and consumed the heavier, together with the tools and instruments of work) to the conduct of *Julian* and *Alypius*: For what other reason can be assigned, I do not say, for their *deferring*, but for their *giving up* the whole enterprize<sup>9</sup>?

<sup>9</sup> Πιστεύουσιν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες, ἡμίτελος τοῦ ἔργου καταλιπόντες. Soz. L. v. c. 22. Καὶ αὐτὸν [Ἰουλιανόν] καὶ τὸς Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀμηχανίαν καὶ αἰχμήν κατέβησαν. Philost. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 9.

HAVING now discoursed so largely on the several circumstances of this event, and yet (by reason of the *occasional* mention of them) not having been able to preserve the order in which they happened: it may tend to support, or at least to illustrate, what hath been already said, if we give a general view of them in one continued and connected relation.

AND here our principal Guide will be the *nature of the Phænomena*: for though the Christian Writers will not be useless, yet their perpetual violation of the order of time, makes it necessary to regulate their accounts on the reason of things.

In excuse of their conduct, something is to be ascribed to the literary genius of those times, which was inaccurate and immethodical; something to the nature of their evidence, collected from discourses, where the mention of this illustrious event is only brought in to support some particular point of doctrine or morality then in question; but the principal source of their neglect of order, was a false persuasion that every circumstance was miraculous and out of nature. This hindered them from inquiring

M into



into the order of time, and would have prevented them from finding it, had they been disposed to inquire. Besides, the *confusion* of time supported their *system* of the Miraculous, by separating the *causes* from the *effects*: and the *regulation* of it would have looked like an impiety, as seeking for that in nature whose source was only in God. This too will account why the fault was not reformed by the Historians who followed the original evidence; and whose business it was to reduce to order, the confusion in the occasional works of their predecessors. However, whether the miracles became *casually* multiplied by a neglect of chronology, or that they *purposely* neglected it, in order to multiply them; Yet multiplied they were; as we have shewn, in our inquiry into the *nature* of the circumstances. And nothing can better support the *truth* of the *reduction* arising from this Inquiry, than the placing each circumstance in the order in which it happened. This we shall now endeavour to do.

1. THE first signs the Almighty gave of his approaching judgment, were the *storms*, *tempests*, and *whirlwinds*. For the incumbent

ent air could not but be affected with the ferment, at that time working in the earth, and exsuding through its pores. These instruments of vengeance performed their office, in the dispersion of the loose materials<sup>r</sup>.

2. AFTER these followed the *Lightening*, the usual consequence of the clash and collision of clouds, driven forcibly together by storms and tempests. The effects this produced were, *first*, destroying the more solid materials, and melting down the iron instruments<sup>s</sup>: and *secondly*, impressing that prodigious mark on the bodies and garments of the assistants. For what *Socrates* says is remarkable, that the *night after* (for this *lightening*, by his account, was in the *day*)

<sup>r</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ γύψος ἡ τιτάνη πολλὰς μεδύμων συνήθροισαν μυριάδας, ἑξαπίνης ἀνεμοὶ βίαιοι πνεύσαντες, πᾶσας ἀθρώως ἐσκέδασαν. Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 20.

<sup>s</sup> Πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ὈΤΡΑΝΟΥ καλασκήσαν, πάντα τὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἐργαλεῖα διέφθηκεν. ἦν γὰρ ἰδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς ἀπολλυμένας τὰς σφύρας, τὰς γλαρίδας, τὰς κρίνας, τὰς πελέκας, τὰ σκέπαμα, πάντα ἀπλῶς ὅσα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιήδεια ἔχον οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι. Socrat. l. iii. c. 20.

the shining crosses appeared upon their garments<sup>6</sup>: which was as soon as they could appear, with that eclat. But it may not be improper to observe, that *Rufinus* seems to have mixed together the fire from heaven and the fire from the earth; for he gives all the effects of *both* fires, mentioned by others, to the single *one* he himself speaks of<sup>7</sup>.

3. THE *Earthquake* came next: which, *Socrates* says, happened in the *night*<sup>8</sup>; that night, in which the marks upon the garments were first observed. Its effects were these, It cast out the stones of the old founda-

<sup>6</sup> Καὶ ὅ τῇ ἐρχομένη νυκτὶ, (Φεγγίδες) εὐαρεῖς αὐτοειδῆς, τοῖς ἱματίοις αὐτῶν ἐπέπρωμένα ἐφάνησαν. L. iii. c. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ædes* erat quædam——in qua ferramenta aliaque operi necessaria servabantur; e qua subito globus quidam ignis emicuit, et per medium plateæ percurrrens, adustis et exterminatis qui aderant Judæis, ultra citraque ferebatur. Hoc iterum sæpiusque et frequentissime per totum illum diem repetens, pertinacis populi temeritatem flammis ultricibus coarcebat—insequenti nocte in vestimentis omnium signaculum crucis, &c. L. x. c. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς σεισμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ ἡρώδου, αἰέεσσι ἐν λίθοις καὶ πάλαι θεμελίον, etc. L. iii. c. 20.



ations (which gave occasion to a remark, that the prophecy of *Jesus* was now *literally* fulfilled) it shook the earth into the new-dug foundation (of which *Theodoret*, we see, made a miracle) and it overthrew the adjoining buildings and porticos.

4. THEN followed the *firey eruption*<sup>1</sup>, which destroyed and maimed so many of the workmen and assistants; and at length forced the undertakers to give over the attempt as desperate<sup>2</sup>. But it is to be observed, that this eruption was attended both with *storms and tempests* above, and with an *earthquake* below<sup>3</sup>. This, *Gregory*, an original evidence, directly affirms; and it is

<sup>1</sup> Λόγος ἐν ᾧ αὐτὰ τε πᾶσι δόξεν ἐνεχέμεν τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ πῦρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνέθορε, καὶ πολλὰς ἀνήλωσε. καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντων αἰδεῶς λέγεται τε καὶ πιστεύει, καὶ παρ' ἑδενός ἀμφιβάλλει. *Sozom.* l. v. c. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ταῦτα οἱ ἀνιθεοὶ θεασάμενοι, καὶ τὰς θεηλάτας μάστιγας ὀρρώδισαντες, ἀπέδρασαν τε καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα κατέλαβον. *Theodor.* l. iii. c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀρχίας λαίλαπος, καὶ βορραῶν γῆς ἀφνω συνελαθέντες, ὅτι τι τῶν πλησίων ἱερῶν — ὅτι βιαζομένης αὐτῆς καὶ φιλονεικίας οὐκ ἔτισσον, πῦρ ἔρησεν, etc. *Greg. Naz. Orat.* ix.

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altogether consonant to the nature of things. An earthquake could not but immediately precede so violent an eruption; and it is highly probable, that this tumult communicated itself to the neighbouring air. I mention this, because it contributed to the embarras we find in the accounts of the evidence; some of whom have confounded this latter storm and earthquake with the former. Another observation I would make, is, that, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the fits of the firey eruption continued longer than the Christian writers represent the matter. Those of them who say the most, seeming to confine the eruptions to one day<sup>b</sup>, if we except the abridged account of *Philostorgius*, which intimates, they continued as long as any one attempted to go on with the enterprize<sup>c</sup>: and they would hardly desist for the impediment of a single day. It is absurd to suppose they

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπενέμειο μὲν ἐν ταῦτα τὸ πῦρ, δι' ὅλης τ' ἡμέρας. Socrat. L. iii. c. 20. Hoc iterum sæpiusque et frequentissime per totam illam diem repetens, pertinacis populi temeritatem flammis ultricibus coercebat.

<sup>c</sup> Τῷ μὲν γὰρ, πῦρ ἐπενέμειο οὗτ' ἐράζεοθ' τολμῶντας· τῷ δ' ἵ, σεισμὸς ἐκώννευ. Philost. Hist. Eccl. L. vii. c. 9.

did :

did: and *Ammianus's* words clearly imply they did not<sup>d</sup>: consequently the eruption lasted much longer; and continued to be repeated as often as the projectors began to renew the attempt, till it had fairly tired them out. This, the reader will find, is of importance to establish the divine interposition. Yet the *Fathers* are so impatient to be at their favourite miracles, the *Crosses* in the *Sky*, and on the *Garments*, that they slip negligently over what ought principally to have been insisted on, the FIREY ERUPTION; and leave what was truly miraculous, to run after an imaginary prodigy. The great St. Chrysostome, indeed, must be excepted out of this censure. He would not suffer the change to be put upon him; but judiciously lays the stress upon that which would bear it.

5. THE last appearance was a *lucid Cross* in the heavens, circumscribed within a luminous circle. Nature, put so suddenly into commotion by its Creator, was, on the de-

<sup>d</sup> Metuendi globi flammæ prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. L. xxiii. c. i.



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 spair and dispersion of his enemies, as suddenly calmed and composed. And then appeared, in the yet clouded firmament, this noble phenomenon, in a lunar halo. And what could be conceived so proper to close this tremendous Scene, or to celebrate this decisive Victory, as the CROSS triumphant, incircled with the HEROIC Symbol of conquest?

THE Order here given to the several parts of this event, is further supported by *Marcellinus's* narrative of that parallel disaster at *Nicomedia*; which we have already employed, and more than once, tho' for different purposes, to illustrate the fact in question. And it is remarkable, the *Roman* Historian not only records the same circumstances, but assigns, to each of them, the same order of time. 1. It began with *storms and tempests*. "Concreti nubium globi nigrantium" &c. 2. Then followed the *lightning*. "Dein velut numine summo factales torquente manubias" &c. 3. Then the *Earthquake*. "Horrifico tremore terrarum, civitatem & suburbana funditus everterunt." 4. And lastly the *firey eruption*. "Palantes abrupte flammarum ardores" &c.

THE

THE order, so carefully preserved by *Marcellinus*, at *Nicomedia*, is, we see, totally neglected by the Christian Historians, at *Jerusalem*. And what but this could suggest so different a conduct? *He* related what he rightly understood to be *in the whole*, a natural event; *They*, what they falsely conceived to be, *in every part*, miraculous.

To conclude this head, let me observe, That, in an aggregate concurrent evidence, a minute *uniformity* on the one hand, or a real *inconsistency* on the other, equally tend to the discredit of the fact in question. In the first case, we justly suspect the *Evidence* to be concerted; in the latter, the *Fact* to be ill founded. . Because, where men relate what they receive from one common Object, their accounts must be as various as the variety of the several recipients; which is just so much as to give a *different colouring* to the same Things, not to *alter* the Things themselves. When we see, therefore, the minutest uniformity in the colouring, we conclude them not to be Originals, who fairly represent from nature, but Copyists, in concert from one another. And  
where,

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where, again, that common Object, from  
which men receive their intelligence, is  
*real*, there, their accounts can admit of no  
inconsistency, because the nature of things  
is invariable. But if this object be the *crea-*  
*ture of the imagination*, begot by the disor-  
dered passions, which are always changing,  
the testimony of the deluded observers will  
never be secure from contradiction.

Now the *Christian Testimony* which we  
have examined, on this occasion, appears to  
be entirely free from both these suspicious  
circumstances. They tell it, indeed, in the  
whole, variously; but with a perfect con-  
sistence of all its parts. They shew, by  
this, they wrote neither in concert, nor at  
random; but drew from one common ob-  
ject, and an object that was real.

HAVING explained the *general cause* of  
that variety, in concurrent evidence, which  
most establishes its credit; it may be pro-  
per to consider, the *peculiar cause*, in the  
Evidence in question.

WHERE a notorious Fact consists of ma-  
ny circumstances, the observers, according  
to their different tempers and dispositions,  
will



will be differently affected. Some will be struck with *this* circumstance, some with *that*. Hence one man will speak of a cause without its effect: Another, of the effect without the cause. *This* relator will run two circumstances into one; *That* will split one into two. And if, of these circumstances, there are some not rightly understood, the order of time will be neglected: and, from that neglect, another embarras, in the evidence, will arise, a different order assigned by different Writers to the same circumstance.

LASTLY, let me observe, it is not *every appearance*, neither, of a *concerted agreement*, or *irreconciled contradiction*, that should make us lightly reject a Testimony of (otherwise) established credit. A single circumstance, in the event before us, will shew how easily, in either case, we may be betrayed into a wrong judgment. *Naxianzen, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomene, Theodoret*, are so exact, and in so perfect agreement, about the *Cross upon the garments* (while each, in his turn, overlooks more material circumstances) that if we take it in the light they place it, of a great and amazing prodigy,

digy, we should be apt to suspect it only a studied ornament to their relation. Yet the finding, on examination, that the properties, they assign to these crosses, lead to the discovery of their real nature, this entirely acquits them of invention. Again, what on the other hand, has a stronger appearance of *contradiction* than one of them affirming that these crosses were *shining* and *radiated*; and another, that they were *som-brous* and *dark coloured*? Yet this apparent contradiction assists us in the discovery of one of their physical properties; and that discovery helps us to reconcile the contradiction; as we find they were black by day, and lucid by night.

I CHOSE to let this single circumstance of the *Crosses* supply me with these instances of the contrary qualities (of too great conformity, and too little consistency, in a concurrent Evidence) which equally tend to render it suspicious; because, indeed, these contrary qualities frequently exist together, in the testimony of *false Witnesses to the same fact*.

WE come now, in the last place, to that Refuse of evidence, which we threw together

ther as of no account; *Philostorgius*, *Theophanes*, *Orosius*, *Nicephorus*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, and their fellows. These men, like impertinent Players, have only the language of others, without any sense of their own; save, that they, sometimes, presume to add their own inventions to their Author's conceits. Thus *Philostorgius* and *Theophanes* clap on a couple of senseless lies, to the well composed relation of their predecessors; which, like wens in a fair proportioned body, stick out so unsightly as never to be mistaken for its natural members.

THE first of them tells a story (which *Nicephorus* has repeated) of a certain cave laid open by the workmen, in which was found the Gospel of St. *John*, miraculously preserved\*. As this was apparently invented in favour of the *religion of reliques*,

\* Καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν θεμελίων ὠρεπιζομένων, εἰς τῶν λίθων εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην κρηπίδα τεταμένων κινήσεις, ὁμοῖον αὐτοῖς τινὸς παρέδειξεν, ἐνεργασμένη τῇ πέτρᾳ, &c. — Ἐντυγχάνει σήλην τινὶ — ἣ τὴν χεῖρα ὀπλάτων ὁρίσκει βιβλίον αὐτῇ ὀπκείμενον. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. c. 14.



I shall deliver it up to the Inquisition of Dr. Middleton.

THEOPHANES tells his tale on better grounds. He affirms, that the marks of the Cross were not only found at *Jerusalem*; but at *Antioch*, and other cities; and that they appeared on the coverings of the altars, on the Church books, and on the sacred vestments<sup>f</sup>. Well fare *Theophanes*, for a punctual relator. I fancy *Philostorgius* would have been at a loss to produce his miraculous *Gospel*: But without doubt, *Theophanes* knew where to find enough of his own manufacture, to save him from blushing, had he been of so weak a complexion.

#### C H A P. IV.

THE Reader hath now the whole of the Church-evidence laid before him. It hath been largely and minutely examined;

<sup>f</sup> — αὐτομάτως τε πῶς ἀπλώμασι τῶν θυσιαστηρίων καὶ βίβλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐσθῆμασι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ ἐν ἱματίοις ἑ μόνον Χριστιανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐπεπόλαζε τὸ σημεῖον τῷ σταυρῷ, ἑ μόνον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι. Chronog. p. 44.

and,

and, I presume, so fully explained and vindicated, as to make it needless to take notice of any *particular* Writer, who hath objected to its credit.

YET the Remarks of M. JAMES BASNAGE, on this collective evidence, are so very extraordinary, and his Authority in the learned world so high, that I might be reasonably accused of neglect, should I pass him over in silence, though a great part of his censure hath been already obviated.

THIS very learned man, whose candour, exactness, and strength of reasoning have advanced him to the first rank in letters, hath, amongst his other excellent labours, enriched the Public with a *History of the Jews*, from the beginning of the Christian Æra, down to the present times; composed in a judicious method, interspersed with many curious inquiries, and abounding in a vast variety of good learning.

In the sixth Book of this work, he gives us, what he calls, an *Examination of those miracles which defeated Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple*: where, to speak freely, I find not one of those qualities, which have rendered

rendered him so deservedly famous amongst the Protestants abroad.

AFTER having told us what share *Julian* had in the Attempt, and how easily he brought the *Jews* into his measures, he goes on in this manner.

“ IT is said, that God hindered the building of the Temple, by three succeed-

On dit que Dieu l'empêcha par trois miracles consecutifs. Trois Historiens anciens, Socrate, Sozomene, & Theodoret, rapportent unanimement ces faits. Sozomene même, qui, à peur que quelques incredules ne les regardent comme fabuleux, renvoie ces incredules à la deposition des temoins oculaires, qui vivoient encore lors qu'il écrivoit. Le premier de ces miracles fut un Tremblement de terre, qui arriva lors-qu' on nettoioit les fondemens de l'ancien Temple pour en jeter des nouveaux : et ce tremblement de terre renversa les materiaux. Il y a deux variations sur ce premier miracle ; car Theodoret le fait precéder de je ne sai quelle vertu divine, qui raportoit la nuit les anciens materiaux & les ordures qu'on avoit ôtées, et ensuite d'un vent miraculeux, qui dissipa les pierres, quoi qu'on eût jetté dessus une prodigieuse quantité de chaux et de ciment pour les effermir. Secondement, Sozomene fait mourir par ce tremblement de terre un grand nombre de personnes, qui étoient venues là en qualité d'ouvriers, ou de spectateurs, et qui furent ecrasées sous les ruines des maisons voisines et des porches, sous lesquels ils s'étoi-



“ing miracles. Three ancient Historians,  
 “SOCRATES, SOZOMENE, and THEODO-  
 “RET, unanimously relate these facts. And

ent retirez. Le second miracle fut un Feu, qui, sortant des fondemens qu'on venoit de poser, consuma une partie des Ouvriers, et mit le reste en fuite; l'un fait descendre ce feu du ciel, et les deux autres le font sortir de terre. Socrate le fait durer un jour entier pour consumer les hoiaux, les peles, et tous les instrumens destinez à l'ouvrage. Sozomene raporte avec quelque incertitude la mort des ouvriers. Il marque même qu'on varioit un peu; les uns assûrent que le feu les avoit consumez, lors qu'ils avoient voulu *entrer dans le Temple*; ce qui étoit impertinent; puis que les fondemens étoient à peine achevez; & les autres soutenoient que cela étoit arrivé, lors qu'on commença à remuer la terre, et à la transporter. Il y a une quatrieme variation sur ce miracle; car on ajoûte que les Juifs reconurent malgré eux que J. CHRIST étoit Dieu, et qu'ils ne laisserent pas de perseverer dans leur entreprise; ce qui est contradictoire. Mais il n'importe: leur fermeté donna lieu à un troisieme prodige. Car ils s'aperçurent le matin qu'il y avoit un grand nombre d'étoiles raïonnantes semées sur leurs habits, qu'ils voulurent effacer sans pouvoir y réussir. Sozomene y ajoute des étoiles qui étoient faites avec autant d'art, que si elles y avoient été mises par la main de l'ouvrier. Theodoret s'écarte un peu; car au lieu d'étoiles raïonnantes il en met de noires, ce qui representoit mieux le crime et le suplice des Juifs, et à même tems il en fait écraser plusieurs qui étoient endormis sous un Porche.

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“asto *Sozomene*, in particular, who is apprehensive, there might be certain unbelievers, who would give no credit to them,

Mais la grande variation roule sur l'effet de ce troisieme miracle ; car les uns assurent que les Juifs se retirèrent chez eux aussi endurcis que s'ils n'avoient rien vu. Mais les deux autres pretendent que la plupart se firent Chrétiens, et que le bruit de leur conversion alla jusqu'aux oreilles de l'Empereur Julien. Nous avons crû devoir remarquer ces différentes circonstances, à fin qu'on puisse mieux peser la verité de ce récit. Les uns trouveront quelque plaisir à multiplier le nombre de ces miracles, comme Theodoret, et y ajouter même ce que les Ecrivains modernes en ont dit. Mais il est juste que les autres y trouvent aussi les raisons qu'on peut avoir de suspendre sa foi. J'ajouterai seulement deux choses. L'une, que la preuve que *Sozomene* allegue pour montrer la verité de ce qu'il avance, est très foible. Il en appelle à *l'évenement*, & soutient qu'on ne peut plus douter de cette longue suite de miracles, parce que le Temple ne fut point achevé. Mais cet Historien avoit-il oublié que la permission ne fut donnée aux Juifs, que lors que Julien partoît pour son expedition contre les Perses, dans laquelle il fut tué, & qu'ainsi on n'avoit pas besoin de tant de miracles pour empêcher la structure d'un edifice ? L'oposition des Chrétiens, qui profiterent de l'éloignement du Prince, sa mort, et l'elevation de Jovien, ennemi des Juifs, suffisoient pour arrêter tout court ce dessein. D'ailleurs il renvoye ses lectures en termes vagues à des temoins

“ he

“ he sends such to the depositions of those  
 “ who had been eye-witnesses, and were  
 “ yet living when he wrote his history.

oculaires, sans nommer, ni indiquer personne. Enfin Cyrille de Jerusalem, qui étoit alors Evêque de cette ville, devoit être sur les lieux, puis que ce fut lui qui rassura le peuple par le moïen d'un Oracle de Daniel, qui avoit prédit, à ce qu'il croyoit, que l'ouvrage ne réussiroit pas. Cependant Cyrille n'a jamais parlé de tous ces miracles. Ce n'est pas qu'il ne les aimât. Il écrivit, dit-on, à Constantin le Jeune, pour lui apprendre qu'il étoit plus heureux que son Pere, sous l'empire duquel on avoit trouvé en terre la Croix du Fils de Dieu, puis que le Ciel lui faisoit voir un prodige plus éclatant: c'étoit une Croix plus lumineuse que le soleil, que toute la ville de Jerusalem avoit vue au firmament un long espace de tems. Pourquoi parler de cette croix, et se taire sur ces Miracles? Il apprend aux Juifs qu'ils verront le signe de la Croix, lequel precedera la venue du Fils de Dieu, & ne dit pas un seul mot de celles qui avoient été attachées miraculeusement à leurs habits. Ce silence d'un Evêque qui étoit sur les lieux, qui aimoit les miracles et la conversion des Juifs, est suspect, lors qu'il n'y a que des temoins éloignez qui parlent. Cependant il ne faut pas dissimuler, que si un des Chronologistes Juifs soutient, que le Temple ne fut point bâti à cause de la mort imprevue de Julien, un autre assure que ce Temple, rebati à grands frais, tomba, et que le lendemain un grand feu, qui vint du ciel, fondit les ferremens qui restoient, & fit périr une



“ THE *first* of these miracles was an  
 “ EARTHQUAKE, which happened at the  
 “ time they were clearing the old founda-  
 “ tions, in order to lay *new*: and this  
 “ earthquake overthrew their magazines of  
 “ materials.

“ THERE are two variations on the sub-  
 “ ject of this first miracle. For *Theodoret*  
 “ makes it preceded, 1. by I can't tell what  
 “ divine power; which, in the night,  
 “ brought back the old materials and rub-  
 “ bish into the place from whence they had  
 “ been taken: and 2dly, by a miraculous  
 “ wind, which dispersed the stones, tho'  
 “ they had been covered by a prodigious  
 “ quantity of lime and mortar, to bind them  
 “ into one solid mass. The second varia-  
 “ tion is in *Sozomene's* making this earth-  
 “ quake destroy *a great number of people*,  
 “ who were there in quality of workmen  
 “ or lookers on, and were buried under the  
 “ ruins of the neighbouring houses and

*multitude innombrable de Juifs.* Cet aveu des Rabbins  
 est d'autant plus considerable qu'il est injurieux à la Na-  
 tion, et que ces Messieurs ne sont pas accoutumés à  
 copier les Ouvrages des Chrétiens. *Basnage, Hist. des*  
*Juifs*, Lib. vi. c. 18, 19,

por-

“ portico’s, whither they had retired for  
“ shelter.

“ THE *second* miracle was a FIRE, which  
“ burst from the foundations they were  
“ then preparing; and destroyed one part  
“ of the workmen, and put the rest to  
“ flight. 1. One of these historians makes  
“ this fire to descend from Heaven; the  
“ *other two* bring it from beneath. 2. *So-*  
“ *crates* says, it continued the whole day,  
“ and consumed the pick-axes, shovels, and  
“ all the tools and instruments destined to  
“ this service. 3. *Saxomene* relates the *death*  
“ *of the workmen* with some uncertainty.  
“ Nay, he observes, that here the evidence  
“ varied a little; some affirming that the  
“ fire destroyed them as they were striving  
“ *to enter the Temple* (which was certainly  
“ an idle story, since even the foundations  
“ were hardly finished) while others say,  
“ it happened when they first began to  
“ break ground, and carry off the rubbish.  
“ 4. There is a fourth variation on the sub-  
“ ject of this miracle; for it is added, The  
“ Jews confessed, though in spite of them-  
“ selves, that JESUS CHRIST was God;  
“ and yet they did not cease to persevere in

“ their attempt : which is a manifest contradiction.

“ BUT no matter for that : their obstinacy gave occasion to a *third* miracle. For, in the morning, they perceived a great number of SHINING STARS scattered over their habits ; which they tried to efface, but in vain. Sozomene adds, there were of these stars so artfully formed, that the hand of a workman could not have done them better : *Theodoret* deviates a little here ; For, instead of the *shining stars*, he speaks of *black* ones. Such as indeed more properly marked the crime and punishment of the Jews. And at the same time, he crushes to death a great number, who were fast asleep under a Portico.

“ BUT the great variation of all turns upon the *effect* of the third miracle. For one assures us, that the Jews returned home as hardened as if they had seen nothing : whereas the other two pretend, that the greater part embraced the Christian faith ; and that the news of their conversion reached even to the ears of *Julian* himself.

WE



“ WE have conceived it to be the duty  
 “ of a faithful Historian to take notice of  
 “ these differences, in order to assist the  
 “ Reader, in forming a right judgment of  
 “ the truth of the whole relation. Some,  
 “ doubtless, will find their pleasure in mul-  
 “ tipling the number of these miracles,  
 “ like Theodoret; and even in adding eve-  
 “ ry thing which modern writers have said  
 “ to set them off. But it is no more than  
 “ fitting that men of a different turn should  
 “ be made acquainted with the reasons there  
 “ are to *suspend* their belief.

“ I will only add, these two observations  
 “ to what has been already said. The *one* is,  
 “ that the Argument *Sozomene* brings to  
 “ prove the truth of what he advances, is a  
 “ very weak one. He appeals to the issue;  
 “ and maintains, we can no longer  
 “ doubt of this long train of miracles, since  
 “ the Temple was never finished. But  
 “ could this Historian forget that the  
 “ *Jews* did not obtain their permission to  
 “ rebuild it till the time of *Julian's* setting  
 “ out for his *Persian* expedition, in which  
 “ he perished? As this was the case, there  
 “ was little need of all these miracles to hin-

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“ der the *erection of a single building* ; sure-  
“ ly, a sufficient cause for cutting short an  
“ enterprize of this nature may be found in  
“ the opposition of the Christians, who  
“ might take advantage of the Prince's ab-  
“ sence in a remote region, of his death  
“ there, and the advancement of *Jovian*,  
“ who was an Enemy to the *Jews*. Be-  
“ sides, the historian refers his readers, in  
“ a vague, indefinite manner to the eye-  
“ witnesses of the fact, without pointing  
“ out one single person by name.

“ BUT lastly, *Cyrill of Jerusalem*, who  
“ was, at that time, Bishop of the place,  
“ and must have been upon the spot, since  
“ it was he, who confiding in a prophécy of  
“ *Daniel* (which had foretold, as he thought,  
“ that the attempt would prove unsuccess-  
“ ful) encouraged and animated the people  
“ to repose their confidence in God. Not-  
“ withstanding, this same *Cyrill* has never  
“ taken the least notice of these many mi-  
“ racles : and yet it certainly was not be-  
“ cause he was no friend to miracles : We  
“ are told he wrote to *Constantine* the young-  
“ er, to inform him, that he was more  
“ happy than his father, under whose em-  
“ pire

"pire the Cross of Christ had been found,  
 "here on earth, since Heaven, to grace his  
 "reign, had displayed a more illustrious  
 "prodigy: which was, a Cross much  
 "brighter than the sun, seen in the firma-  
 "ment for a long time together, by the  
 "whole City of *Jerusalem*. Why, now,  
 "was that Cross remembered, and all  
 "these miracles forgotten? He assures the  
 "*Jews*, they shall see the sign of the Cross;  
 "and that it will precede the coming of  
 "the Son of God; and yet he says not one  
 "single word of Those which had been  
 "miraculously affixed to their Habits.  
 "The silence of a Bishop, who was upon  
 "the place, who loved miracles, and la-  
 "boured for the conversion of the *Jews*,  
 "looks very suspicious; while, at the same  
 "time, they, who do speak to it, lived at a  
 "distance.

"HOWEVER, it ought not to be dissem-  
 "bled, That, if *one* of the *Jewish* Chrono-  
 "logists maintains, that the sudden and  
 "unexpected death of *Julian* prevented the  
 "rebuilding the Temple; *Another* of them  
 "assures us it was rebuilt, and that, when  
 "this was done at a vast expence, it tum-  
 "bled



“bled down again, and *the next day, a*  
 “*dreadful Fire, which fell from heaven,*  
 “*melted all the iron instruments that remain-*  
 “*ed, and destroyed an innumerable multitude*  
 “*of Jews.* This confession of the Rabbins  
 “is the more considerable, as it reflects dis-  
 “honour on the Nation; and these Gentry  
 “are not wont to copy from the writings of  
 “the Christians.”

BEFORE I proceed to a particular examination of this long passage, I shall make these two general remarks upon it.

FIRST, That the learned critic goes all the way upon a *false supposition*; namely, that it was the purpose of these three Historians, in their accounts of this event, to place the several circumstances, attending it, in the order of time in which each of them was supposed to happen. I have shewn they had no such purpose, and have explained the cause of their neglecting the order of time<sup>h</sup>. This was fit to be taken notice of, because the main force in his objections arises from the contrary supposition.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 161, 2.

My *second* remark is, That the learned Critic embarrasses both himself and his Reader, by using, without explaining, the ambiguous term of VARIATION: which may either signify a *contradiction*; or, only a simple *diversity*. His *reasoning* requires you should apply it in the former sense; but his *facts* commonly go no higher than the latter. This was proper to observe, because a *contradiction* discredits a concurrent evidence: while a simple *diversity* never hurts, and often supports it<sup>i</sup>.

WHEN a Writer's purpose is not to confirm the Fact in question; but to render it doubtful and suspected; it will lye upon him to give a good account of every part of the Evidence by which it may be supported: because no conclusion can be drawn *against* a Fact till the whole testimony *for* it hath been fairly invalidated. It is otherwise when a Fact is to be established. In that case, it may be sufficient to select and urge only the most material. Now the learned Critic begins his discourse in this manner, *It is said, that God hindered the building of the Temple by three succeeding miracles. Three ancient Historians, SOCRATES, SOZOMENE,*

<sup>i</sup> See p. 169. & seq.

and

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and THEODORET, unanimously relate these  
facts.

HIS process against the Miracle is regular and in form. He first names his Witnesses: But does he name them all? So one would be apt to conclude, both from the nature of the case, and the Critic's turn of expression: at least one would never suspect that he had omitted any of the first and original Evidence. Yet he has omitted all of them. Not only Ambrose, Gregory, Nazianzene, and St. Chrysostome; but even the testimony of Marcellinus himself. This is a proceeding, which bears as hard against the ingenuity of the Writer, as against the strength of his conclusion: and, with regard to his argument, the utmost this method can effect is only to discredit the Witnesses he does think fit to produce and examine; while the Fact itself, supported by others, of greater and unquestioned authority, remains entire. But let us view his confutation in the light he would have it seen.

HIS Objection to the *Earthquake*, which he calls the FIRST miracle, is, that there are two *variations* concerning it.

THE



THE first is, that *Theodoret* makes it preceded first by I can't tell what divine Power, which, in the night, brought back the old materials and rubbish into the place from whence they had been taken; and 2dly, by a miraculous Wind, which dispersed the stones, tho' they had been covered by a prodigious quantity of lime and mortar, to bind them into one solid mass.

1. As *M. Basnage* himself here states the case, we see this is of the nature of those variations, mentioned just before, that imply no contradiction, but only a diversity. A case almost essential to the truth of an accumulative evidence, not given in concert. One Witness delivers a circumstance omitted by another; and omits a circumstance which the Other hath delivered. Thus *Theodoret* is here said to relate two circumstances preceding the Earthquake, of which *Socrates* and *Sozomene* are silent: and *Sozomene* to relate an effect of this Earthquake, of which *Socrates* and *Theodoret* are silent. Now, not to repeat what hath been just observed of the real credit these diversities carry with them; What can more strongly support the truth of this Earth-

Earthquake, attested by three Historians, than that, when *One* had only recorded the fact itself, the *Other two* preserved the memory of those circumstances, which, we have shewn<sup>k</sup>, this fact was most likely to produce?

2. BUT on the learned Critic's false supposition of an *order of time* observed in these accounts, he might have improved this *variation* into a *contradiction*. And, considering he had this imaginary advantage, one would wonder he did not use it. For, in the order of *Theodoret's* relation, the filling up the foundations *goes before* the Earthquake; whereas from the accounts of *Rufinus* and *Cassiodorus*, explained on the reason of things, it appears to have been *after*, and the effect of the Earthquake. But, as it hath been shewn<sup>l</sup>, that the Historians had it not in their purpose to observe the order of time, the objection, even when thus stated, is seen to have no weight. However, admit, the Historians had it in their purpose to observe the order of time, and that they differed in placing some of the circumstances: What follows? Not

<sup>k</sup> See p. 151, 2. and 130. <sup>l</sup> See p. 161, 2.

that

that the facts were false : but that the witnesses were men of credit, who did not write in concert. Is not the whole body of civil History full of facts believed by all mankind ; about the *order* of which, as they stand connected in time to one another, Historians do, and will eternally differ ? I have now accidentally lying before me Dr. Hody's learned account of those *illustrious Greeks* who brought the use of their language into the west of Europe ; where, speaking of *Emanuel Chrysologus*, it appears that a number of Writers, contemporary with him, affirm, that he first taught at *Venice*, then at *Florence* : While as great a number, and of equal credit, affirm just the contrary, that it was *first* at *Florence*, and *afterwards* at *Venice*. In the mean while no body ever doubted that he taught in both places.—And here the distinction between a *natural* and *supernatural* fact (frequently, and indeed, properly urged in these disputes) hath no place. For M. Basnage's objection stands on a *civil*, not a *physical*, reason.

3. LASTLY, HE tells us, *Theodoret* says, *a miraculous wind dispersed the stones, tho' they*  
*bad*



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*had been covered by a prodigious quantity of  
lime and mortar to bind them into one solid  
mass.* But the best is, Theodoret says no  
such thing. The candid Critic should not  
have made his miracles still more wonder-  
ful by a false exposition of them. The  
whole affair, indeed, we think was one  
continued declaration of the divine displea-  
sure: but where God employs natural in-  
struments to execute his judgments, they  
usually work according to their capacities:  
And Theodoret's *Wind* does no more. His  
words are these — “When they had laid  
“in, and disposed on heaps, many thou-  
“sand measures of lime and plaster; vio-  
“lent storms, whirlwinds and tempests un-  
“expectedly arose, and dispersed them all  
“about<sup>m</sup>.” Here we find nothing told,  
but what this elementary agency might  
well perform. So that one cannot conceive  
what it was that induced this learned man,  
first to lay so strong an embargo on his  
heavy weight of stones, and then to disperse

<sup>m</sup> Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ γύψος ἡ τιλάνη πολλὰς μεθιμνων  
ζωνήθροισαν μυριάδας ἐξαπίνης ἀνεμοὶ βίαιοι πνέσαν-  
τες ἡ εὐρόελοι ἡ καὶ αὐγίδες ἡ λαίλαπες, πᾶσας αἰ-  
θρῶς ἐσκέδασαν. Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 20.

them

them again so lightly; unless, because, as he says, the *Fathers* loved to *talk* of miracles, so he loved to *laugh* at them. But he should have chosen a fitter subject for his mirth.

HIS *second variation* about the *Earthquake* is, in *Sozomene's* making it destroy a great number of people who were buried under the ruins of the neighbouring houses and porticos. Here the *variation* is still more imaginary. *Sozomene* is not alone in the fact. *Theodoret* likewise mentions it; tho', by placing the firey eruption between the *Earthquake* and the fall of the *Porticos*, he hath separated the *cause* from the *effect*<sup>a</sup>. We should therefore place this instance amongst the *supports*, not the *objections*, to this illustrious Event.

THE SECOND Miracle, according to *M. Basnage's* representation of things, is the fire from the foundations: and concerning this, he assures us, there are no less than four variations.

THE first is, that one of the *Historians* makes the fire to descend from Heaven; the other two bring it from beneath.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 153.

THE assertion is grounded on a mere mistake of the text. *Socrates* speaks of *one* fact, when he says, "A fire came from "Heaven and consumed all the workmen's "tools °;" *Sozomene* and *Theodoret*, of *another*, when they say, "A fire broke out "of the foundations and destroyed many of "the workmen themselves<sup>1</sup>." And nothing but much prejudice, or little attention, could have blended *two consistent*, into *one inconsistent* fact. The fire from *heaven*, and the fire from the *foundations*, were different events: and distant from each other in time as well as place. All the mystery is, that *Socrates* mentions the former, and omits the latter; and *Sozomene* and *Theodoret* mention the latter, and omit the former. The *nature of things*<sup>1</sup>, as well as the rules of interpretation, supports this distinction: and, physically speaking, it had been more to be wondered at, if the storms and tempests

° Πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἑρηνῆ καὶ ασκῆσαν, πάντα τὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων ἐργαλεῖα διέφθειραν. L. iii. c. 20.

P Πῦρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων τῆς ἱερῆς ἀνέθορε καὶ πολλὰς ἀνήλωσε — Sozom. L. v. c. 22. — πῦρ ἐκ τῶν ὀρυσομελίων θεμελίων ἀναδέσμον, πλείους τῶν ὀρυττόνων ἐνέπρησε. Theod. L. iii. c. 20.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 134.



had not produced *Lightening*, than if a *firey eruption* had not followed an *Earthquake*.

THE *second variation* is, that *Socrates* says, *the fire continued the whole day; and consumed the pick-axes, shovels, and all the tools and instruments destined to the service.*

THIS *variation* is as fanciful, as the supposition, on which it rises, is false; namely, that *Socrates* here speaks of the *same fire* mentioned by *Sozomene* and *Theodoret*. For if he meant a *different* (as he certainly did) then its continuance for a *whole day*, is no *variation*, even in the lowest sense our critic uses it, of one writer's recording a Circumstance of the same fact, which another hath omitted.

A *third variation* (says *M. Basnage*) is, that *Sozomene* relates the death of the workmen with some uncertainty. Nay, the historian observes, that here the Evidence varied a little. Some affirming that the fire destroyed them as they were striving to enter the Temple (which was certainly an idle story, since the foundations were hardly finished) while others say, it happened when they first began to break ground and carry off the rubbish.

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THAT Sozomene relates the death of the workmen with some uncertainty is a strange misrepresentation: his words are these, *It is said, that a fire burst suddenly from the ruins, and destroyed many. And this thing is confidently reported and believed by all, no one man ever calling it in question.* Could a writer possibly express more confidence in a Fact related? Let the Reader judge.

INDEED, Sozomene does observe, that, tho', in the fact itself, all were agreed; yet, in one Circumstance attending it, the Evidence varied a little. A passage of Gregory Nazianzene ill understood apparently betrayed him into this groundless remark. But if Sozomene mistook Gregory, M. Basnage has much more grossly mistaken Sozomene.

GREGORY delivered his account of the eruption in these words—*They fled together for refuge to an adjoining Church—As they strove violently to force their way in,*

ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δὲ ἀποστολῇ ἐπεχέουσα τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ πῶς ἐκείνη ἐκ τῆς θρησκείας ἡ τῆς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι καὶ τῶν πρὸς πάντων ἀδελφῶν λέγουσι καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι πάλιν ὑμῶν ἀμφιβάλλει. L. v. c. 22.

the fire, which burst from the foundations of the Temple met and stop'd them; and one part of them it burnt and destroyed; Sozomene, alluding to this passage (after he had told us, that the fact of the fire's breaking from the foundations, was believed by all, and contradicted by none) says, *Indeed there is this small difference in the circumstances; some say the flame met them as they were forcing their way into the Church, and produced the effect spoken of above; while others say, it happened when first they began to clear the foundations.* Sozomene, we see, understood Gregory, as if he had meant, that the flame which met those who were striving to enter the Church, happened at some time different from that which was said to destroy the men working at the foundations. But he certainly mistook Gregory; who supposes plainly enough, that this destruction happened at the very time they were digging the foundations. Gregory not only assures us that the fact, as he

<sup>s</sup> See p. 123.

<sup>t</sup> — Πλὴν ὅτι μὴ φασιν ὅτι βιαζομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν προΐεναι, φλόξ ἀπανήσασα, τὸ εἰρημνύον εἰργάσατο· οἱ δὲ, ἅμα ἤρξαντο τὸ χεῖν ἐκφορεῖν. L. V. c. 22.



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tells it, stood *unquestioned* by all (which he  
could not have said, had it related to *another time*) but he expressly says, they fled to  
this Church as to a refuge from the *Whirl-*  
*wind* and *Earthquake*. Now the Evidence is  
unanimous, that the Whirlwind and Earth-  
quake happened as they were preparing the  
foundations. In a word, what *Sozomene*  
mistook for a *variation*, properly so called,  
was two different relations of the different  
parts of the same event. Great numbers  
*fled* from the Whirlwind and Earthquake;  
and these the fire, which burst from the  
foundations, destroyed as they were striv-  
ing to enter the Church: Others *stood* their  
ground; and these were destroyed on the  
spot. Unwarily, *Sozomene* mistook *Gre-*  
*gory's* narrative of the state, in which the  
same eruption seized some of the sufferers,  
for the narrative of a different eruption.  
But tho' the ancient relators of this fact  
had indeed spoken of *different* eruptions,  
and, in ascribing the same general effect to  
all, had yet represented the Workmen as  
destroyed, while busied in different places,  
and in different occupations: What then?  
Would this have taken off from the credit  
of their relation? By no means. On the

contrary, it must have added to it. For we have seen in part, and shall see more fully hereafter, that the *fits* of this firey eruption were so obstinate as not to give over till it had brought the Directors to despair of the Undertaking.

BUT to return to *Sozomene*; an attentive writer might have fallen into *his* mistake: What drew M. *Basnage* aside, is not so easily understood. To interpret *Sozomene* as saying, that it was the *new-built Temple*, into which these unhappy sufferers strove to enter, when his whole History shews, the foundations were never finished, implies strange inattention to his Subject; or confidence in the implicate faith of his Readers. But let *Sozomene* speak for himself. He says, *the fire met them as they strove to enter eis τὸ ἱερόν, into the Church, or Temple.* And to know what Place he meant by these words, we must have recourse to his Author, *Greg. Nazianzene*: Who, in the relation already given at large<sup>v</sup>, says, that when the *Jews* had procured the countenance and assistance of *Julian* to rebuild the Temple, they addressed themselves to the Undertaking.

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 with great alacrity and vigour; but, being driven from their work by a Whirlwind and Earthquake, they fled for refuge to a certain neighbouring Church, ἐπὶ τι τῶν πλησίου ἱερῶν, apparently a christian Oratory, built amongst, or adjoining to, the ruins of those sacred places, formerly included within the walls of the Temple. This particular, Sozomene takes from Gregory: And what the latter expresses by ἐπὶ τι τῶν πλησίου ἱερῶν, the other calls εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, *into the Church*. Yet M. Basnage supposes, he meant the *Jewish Temple rebuilt*. But perhaps he might be betrayed into this absurd interpretation, from what followed in Gregory; who says, that while they were striving to force their way into this Church, a fire, ἐκ τῆς ἱερῆς, met and stopped them. The question is what he here meant by ἱερῆς; doubtless the same with ἱερῶν, going before, *the Jewish Temple*, near which the Christian Church or Oratory stood. But what *Temple*? Not a new one rebuilt, but the old one in ruins: ἐκ τῆς ἱερῆς signifying the same as ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων τῆς ναῆς, and with elegance; for ἱερὸν is the generic word, and signifies as well the site of a holy building as the building itself.



itself. It appears, at least, that *Sozomene* understood the word, ἐκ τῆς ἱερῆς, in this sense from his making *all* the variation in *Gregory's* account from the rest, to consist in his assigning a *different time* for the destruction of the workmen; and from his express affirmation, that the Witnesses all agreed in attesting, that the fire came from the *foundations of the ruined Temple*. And it appears, he understood *Gregory* rightly; who, in his turn, affirms, that the evidence were *unanimous* in attesting the fire came ἐκ τῆς ἱερῆς, by which he could mean nothing but the *foundations* of the ruined Temple; because it was in that only they were unanimous. Nor, for the same reason, could *Gregory* mean, nor could *Sozomene* so understand him, that the fire came from the *Church*, into which they were forcing an entrance. And *Gregory* seems to have well weighed what he says; for, in this very place, he carefully distinguishes between uncertain rumour and established Evidence.

BUT, indeed, in every view, the learned Critic's interpretation is insupportable. The whole tenor of *Gregory's* relation (which is  
in

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in perfect harmony with the rest) shews  
that the obstruction began *before* they  
had laid the foundations.

ON the whole, then, we see, *this variation*, concerning the eruption, is as imaginary as the rest.

Mr. *Basnage* proceeds; and tells us, there is a *fourth variation*, concerning this miracle of the Fire; which is, that *the Jews confessed, though in spite of themselves, that Jesus Christ was God; and yet they did not cease to persevere in their attempt, which* (says the Critic) *is a manifest contradiction.*

THOUGH I would not call this a *contradiction*, yet I readily confess it to be a high improbability. However, be it what it will, the Critic alone is to answer for it. In a word, the charge is entirely groundless, not one of them affirming, or intimating, the least word of any such matter; but, on the contrary, plainly declaring that this *confession* of the *Jews* was not till they had *given up* the enterprize, as desperate.

THE words of SOCRATES are these;  
“The *Jews*, seized with extreme affright,  
“were forced, in spight of themselves, to  
“confess

“ confess that *Jesus Christ* was God ; yet, for  
 “ all that, they would not *obey his will* ;  
 “ but, as men fast bound in religious preju-  
 “ dices, still continued in their old Super-  
 “ stition. Nor did a third miracle, which  
 “ happened afterwards (the shining crosses)  
 “ bring them to the true faith<sup>x</sup>.” This  
 historian speaks only of the *Jews*.

SOZOMENE speaks both of *Jews* and  
*Gentiles* ; and in the order here named.—  
 “ *Some* (says he) on the instant, judged  
 “ that *Christ* was God, and that the resto-  
 “ ration of the Temple was displeasing to  
 “ him : while *Others*, not long after, went  
 “ over to the Church, and were baptised<sup>y</sup>.”

THEODORET, again, speaks only of the  
*Jews* ; for, after having related the whole

<sup>x</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι ᾧ ἐν μεγίστῳ φόβῳ ἡρώμηντο, καὶ ἀκούσαντες  
 ὡμολόγων τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν λεγόντες, οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὅ ἅπαντες  
 τὸ θέλημα, ἀλλ’ ἔμνησκον τῇ τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ προλήψῃ  
 κεραιήμηντο, καὶ οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τρίτον θαῦμα τὸ ὑπερὸν δηλω-  
 μένον, εἰς πίσιν τῇ ἀληθείας ἡγήσαντο αὐτῶν σφραγίδες  
 σαυρῶν ἀκλίνοειδῆς. L. iii. c. 20.

<sup>y</sup> — ποῖς μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκράθη Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν,  
 καὶ μὴ ἀρεσθῆναι τῇ ἀνανεώσει τῷ ναοῦ, οἱ δὲ, οὐκ εἰς  
 μακροὺς προσέθεντο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐμνήθησαν. L. v.  
 c. 22.

series



series of miracles, the last of which (in the rank he places them) was the Crosses on their garments, he goes on in this manner :  
 “ The enemies of God seeing these things,  
 “ and fearing his hand, now advanced, might  
 “ fall upon themselves, fled away, and re-  
 “ turned every man to his place ; confessing  
 “ him to be God, whom their forefathers  
 “ had affixed to the tree \*.”

— Now let the impartial Reader but reflect, that this circumstance of the confession is related, by each of the historians, as happening *after* all the destructive interpositions, which hindered the work ; and he must needs conclude, that M. *Basnage* has given a false representation of their accounts.

SOCRATES lets us know, in what their obstinacy lay : not in persisting in their project ; but persevering in their superstition.

\* ταῦτα οἱ ἀντίθεοι θεασάμενοι, καὶ τὰς θεηλάτας  
 μάστιγας ὀρρωδίσαντες, ἀπέδεξαν τε καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα  
 κατέλαβον, Θεὸν ὁμολογῆτες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῷ προγόνῳ τῷ  
 ξύλῳ προσηλωθέντα. L. iii. c. 20.

Sozo-

SOZOMENE mentions only their sudden *Confession*; and had he not opposed it to the lasting *Conversion* of the Gentiles, it must be owned, that, from him, we could conclude nothing of their obstinacy: but, as he hath so opposed it, we find his account to be perfectly conformable to the relation of *Socrates*; and discover even a hint in the words, *ἐν μὲν ἀποδείξαι τὴν ἀναίμακτον τῆς ζωῆς*, that they did *desist* on their *confession*.

THEODORET is fuller than Either of them, and explains what might be, otherwise, thought doubtful in Both. He marks the *obstinacy* of those, who (*Sozomene* says) on the instant, concluded that *Christ* was *God*; and the *despair* of those who (*Socrates* says) continued in their *obstinacy*.

NOTHING can be clearer, or more consistent than this whole account of their behaviour. Yet M. *Basnage* assures us, "They are represented as confessing *Christ*, and at the same time persisting in their attempt." It would be hard to think it a designed misrepresentation: and still harder to conceive how he could fall into an involuntary error, in a case so evident, unless we suppose he mistook the sense of *Socrates*' expression,

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 preſſion, ἡκ ἐποίησεν ᾧ αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖλημα—they did  
 not obey his will: as if it meant, they were  
 not obsequious to this declaration of his will in  
 the prodigies; whereas θεῖλημα is here used  
 in the common theologic sense, of the  
 whole will of Christ: as appears from what  
 follows, which, by necessary construction,  
 is explanative of what went before — ἀλλ'  
 ἔμμενον τῇ ἑ' ΙΟΥΔΑΙΣΜΟΥ προλήψει κεραι-  
 μμοι, εἰδὲ ᾧ τὸ τρίτον θαῦμα τὸ ὑπερον ἐπιγνώ-  
 μμον εἰς ΠΙΣΤΙΝ —

BUT here, perhaps, it may be objected,  
 That even what we ourselves allow these  
 ancient Writers to have said, creates a dif-  
 ficulty, which will deserve some solution.  
 “The Jews are represented as confessing  
 the divinity of Jesus Christ, and yet persist-  
 ing in their old superstition: surely a state  
 of mind made up of very discordant prin-  
 ciples.” It is true, the objection will de-  
 serve to be considered: and the rather as it is  
 not impossible but this might be all M. Bas-  
 nage aimed at; tho' he missed the mark by  
 a careless expression. However, the ob-  
 jection is so obvious; and the account has,  
 at first sight, so much seeming incongruity,  
 that, I conclude, these Historians were well  
 assured



assured of their fact, before they would venture to trust it to the public judgment. And, when it comes to be examined, I persuade myself, *the reason of things* will give us the same satisfaction in its truth, which *concurrent Evidence* gave them.

If we admit these prodigies to have happened, in the manner they are related, we cannot but conclude, that those, against whom they were directed, how hardened and determined soever, must be seized with sudden astonishment and affright. Now, in this state, the mind, hurried from its basis, catches at any thing which promises protection. Nothing therefore was so natural as their applying to the object *offended*; which, at that moment, could be thought no other than *Jesus of Nazareth*. His power, then, would, in spite of all old impressions, be instantaneously acknowledged. This is what *Socrates* means, and well expresses, by saying, that, *in their extreme fright they were forced, in spite of themselves, to confess that Jesus Christ was God.*

So far every thing was just as the working of human nature would be, when not hindered by any foreign impression.

BUT

BUT they must know nothing of its workings, who can imagine, that new and contrary directions, produced by such accidents, in minds warped by the strong attraction of inveterate prejudices, and hardened by a national obstinacy, could be regular or lasting. When the fright was over, the mind would return mechanically to its old station; and there it would rest, especially if it could find, or even invent for its support, any solution of the phenomena consistent with their former sentiments concerning *Jesus*: and these, we shall see hereafter, they might, and did invent. So that now we are ready for the concluding part of the account, which *Socrates* hath given us of this matter.—*Yet for all that, they would not obey his will, but, as men fast bound in religious prejudices, still continued in their old superstition.* He talks, we see, like one who understood what he said;—That their hasty *confession* was owing to their sudden *fright*; and their fixed *impiety*, to their inveterate *habits*. All here is so much in order, that the contrary had been the unnatural thing. Had they told us, either that the *Jews* were *not* frightened into a *confession*; or that they *were* frightened  
into

into a *conversion*; the fact had been equally incredible; because, the first case implied the absence of *passions*; and the latter, a freedom from *prejudices*; neither of which agreed with them, as *men* or as *Jews*. But they relate, what was perfectly consistent with *both*, that their stubborn metal was softened in the flames, and grew hard again as these abated. And have we not many examples of the like behaviour in more modern Reprobates, who are in the other extreme of believing nothing? What sentiments of Religion did we not hear on a late occasion of terror, where they were never heard before? But what symptoms of sobriety remained, when the danger was supposed to be over! The offended Deity, which they then saw dressed in terrors, was afterwards laughed at, as the phantom of a frightened imagination: And that good Prelate, who was then so much revered for his pastoral care in warning them of the danger of falling under the justice of an offended God, was soon after pursued with a torrent of abuse, as an evil Citizen, who maliciously projected to fright them out of their wits. Now, if *Free-thinking* can thus keep its hold, when it hath nothing to

P

rely



rely on but the mere vanity of its profession; what must we think of *Superstition*, which hath a thousand fanciful resources to support men in an old habit?

WE come now to what M. *Basnage* calls the *third miracle*. And, concerning this, he reckons up as many *variations* as in that which went before. But it will be proper first to see how he represents the miracle itself. His words are these,—*their obstinacy gave occasion to a third miracle. For, in the morning, they perceived a great number of shining STARS scattered over their habits.* His authority for calling these marks, *stars*, is *Sozomene*: who, indeed, gives them that name: but, as I conceive, very erroneously; by mistaking the sense of *Gregory Nazianzene*, whom he here follows\*. *Gregory's* words are, καλᾶςτερον ἂν; which *Billius* translates, *stellatus nimirum ipse notisque distinctus*; following the interpretation of *Sozomene*, who calls them downright *stars*,

\* It appears he followed *Nazianzene* from what he further observes of their elegant form:—ὡς δὲ πρὸ ἱερ-  
γιαῆς θεολογίας καλεσιμύα. *Soz.*—πάσης ἱερεικῆς  
ψηφιδου, ἡ δὲ εὐεργὴ ζωοφίας ποικιλότερον ἐν ταῖς  
τῇ γίνεσθαι. *Naz.*

ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τινὰ ΑΕΤΡΑΣΙ περιλαβόμενα τὰ  
 ἐοικυμένα εἶχον. But I apprehend, that Gre-  
 gory meant no more by καλᾶς, than that  
 the mark had a star-like *radiance*; not a  
 star-like *figure*. And my reasons are, 1.  
 Because he had just before affirmed, that  
 these marks were *crosses*; and, proceeding  
 in his relation, he acquaints us with their  
*quality*, that they were καλᾶς, or *shining*.  
 A circumstance that would first catch the  
 observation; though, as we have shewn<sup>b</sup>,  
 it may be naturally accounted for. He uses  
 the same term to express the shining fea-  
 thers in a peacock's train — τὰ πτερόν κυκλοει-  
 ρῶς περιέχον τὸ χρυσαυγὴς Ε ΚΑΤΑΕΤΕΡΟΝ<sup>c</sup>  
 — 2. *Socrates*, if he borrowed from Gre-  
 gory, gives this sense to his words; or, if he  
 did not borrow from him, at least he teaches  
 us how to understand him. His expression  
 is (Φεγγίδες αὐτῶν ΑΚΤΙΝΟΕΙΔΕΙΣ, *shining*  
*impressions of the cross*. They were like  
*stars in radiance*, but in *figure* they were  
*Crosses*. Nor do *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, or *Cas-*  
*siodorus*, who all remember the *crosses*, speak  
 one word of *stars*; no not even *Theophanis*,

<sup>b</sup> See p. 139, & seq.

<sup>c</sup> Orat. xxxiv.

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who studied them well ; and seems to have  
had the manufacturing of a spurious sort, in  
imitation of them.

THUS much was proper to be said : For,  
tho' this difference of figure does not in the  
least affect our reasoning on its *physical*  
cause, yet it much impairs its *moral* mean-  
ing as a symbolic mark. Which, as Sozo-  
mene could not but see, it shews his honesty  
at least, in not concealing a mistaken cir-  
cumstance, tho' it took off from the awful  
significancy of the impression.

WITH our Critic's leave, therefore, we  
will call them CROSSES. And now let us  
see what he hath to object to them.

HE preludes his reflections with this  
oblique remark, — *these shining stars they  
tried to efface, but in vain*. This is said to  
insinuate discredit on the fact, by an acces-  
sion of the wonderful. But we have shewn,  
that the difficulty of washing them out was  
a natural effect of their shining quality <sup>d</sup>; at  
least, a property they had in common with  
other the like appearances in later times <sup>e</sup>.  
So that this will stand no longer in our  
way.

<sup>d</sup> P. 140.

<sup>e</sup> P. 149.



HE comes to his *variations*, by which, as we observed before, he sometimes means *additions*; sometimes *differences*; and sometimes, again, *contradictions*.

THE *first* is the lowest species of a *variation*, that is to say, an *addition*.—*Sozomene*, adds, *there were of these stars so artfully formed, that the hand of a workman could not have done them better.* *Sozomene*, as we observed, borrowed this particular from *Gregory*. And if *Socrates* and *Theodoret* omit it, it was not because they were ignorant of it; much less because they did not believe it. However, such who know that Nature frequently casts the mixed substances, produced by fermentation, into regular figures; and often, with that elegance of design which Art can but lamely imitate, will have no reason to doubt of the truth of this circumstance, after it hath been shown<sup>f</sup>, that the marks were entirely *meteoric*.

THE *second* variation is, that *Theodoret* deviates a little here; for, instead of the *shining stars*, he speaks of *black ones*. Such as indeed more properly marked the crime and punishment of the *Jews*. These last words

<sup>f</sup> P. 138.

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are flyly added to recommend the ingenious  
turn of *Theodoret's* addition: and to shew  
his Reader, that the *Father* knew how to  
invent with judgment. But to leave his  
justification to the nature of the fact, which  
we are just coming to, when we have ob-  
served, that *M. Basnage* should here have  
changed his language, and used *crosses* in-  
stead of *stars*; for *Theodoret* does not inti-  
mate a syllable about *stars*: It is true, then,  
he does indeed say, that the crosses on the  
garments of the *Jews* were of a dark colour  
— ἐκ μὲν αὖτις χρῶμας — We have seen, that  
the matter of these crosses was of the nature  
of the Phosphorus, whose property it is to  
shine by night, and to be dark-coloured by  
days. Now if one Writer were to describe  
their appearance by night, and Another  
their appearance by day, Must not This say,  
they were *radiant and shining*; and That,  
that they were *dark coloured*? And so much  
for his *second variation*.

THE *third* is, that *Theodoret*, AT THE  
SAME TIME, *crushes to death a great num-  
ber who were fast asleep under a Portico.*  
The force of this objection, such as it hath,

¶ See p. 139, & seq.

lies

lies in the *time*. For as to the *fall* of the portico, *Rufinus* and *Sozomene* concur with *Theodoret*. But it is by no means true, that *Theodoret* says, it was at *the same time*. If we suppose that he observes order in this incident, we must conclude the *fall* happened *before*. For the series of his relation stands thus — a portico fell by night — on the same night, and on the following, a cross in the sky — then the crosses on the garments<sup>e</sup>. The truth is, the fall of this portico had a very sufficient cause. *Sozomene* plainly intimates, and *Rufinus* expressly says, it was thrown down by the *first* earthquake which preceded the fiery eruption<sup>h</sup>.

WE come now to what the learned Critic calls the *great variation of all*.

WHICH, he says, turns upon the effect of the third miracle. For one assures us, that the Jews returned home as hardened as if they had seen nothing: whereas the other two pretend, that the greater part embraced the

<sup>h</sup> καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τινὶ Στοᾷ — καὶ ἡ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὖ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὤφθη ἐν τῷ ἕρανῳ — καὶ αὐτὰ ἡ Ἱουδαίων ἐσθήματα. — L. iii. c. 20.

See p. 155, 6.



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*Christian faith. And that the news of their*  
*conversion reached even to the ears of the Em-*  
*peror Julian himself.*

THIS, I confess, is to the purpose ; and, were it true, would be a considerable objection to the credit of their evidence. But the contradiction charged upon them is groundless and imaginary. He who (our Critic says) *assures us, that the Jews returned home, as hardened as if they had seen nothing, is Socrates ;* whose words are these : “ The  
“ *Jews, seized with a horrible consterna-*  
“ *tion, were forced, in spite of themselves,*  
“ *to confess that Jesus Christ was God. Yet*  
“ *for all that, they would not obey his will.*  
“ *But, as men fast bound in religious preju-*  
“ *dices, still continued in their old supersti-*  
“ *tion : nor did a third miracle, which hap-*  
“ *pened afterwards, bring them to the true*  
“ *faith — They were hardened, therefore,*  
“ *according to the saying of the apostle,*  
“ *and cast away the good which was then*  
“ *laid before them*<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαῖοι ὅ ἐν μεγίστῃ φόβῳ χρώμενοι, καὶ ἀκούεις  
ἀμαρόντες ἢ Χριστὸν Θεὸν λέγοντες· οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὅ αὐτῷ  
τὸ εἶλημα, ἀλλ' ἐμύνον τῇ ἑ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ προλήψει κρε-

THIS

THIS, without doubt, is a plain assertion that the gross body of the *Jews* concerned in this attempt returned home religionless as they came; without either their *Temple*, or any holier worship. So far, therefore, is allowed; and he hath it to make his best of; which, we see, he is willing enough to do; for he takes notice, that the other two historians, *Sozomene* and *Theodoret*, contradict *Socrates*, and pretend, that the greater part embraced the *Christian faith*.

THIS then is the point to be examined. But let me previously observe, 1. That both *Jews* and *Gentiles* joined in the attempt to rebuild the *Temple*; and had both of them the stigma of the *Cross* upon their garments, as *Gregory Nazianzene* and *Rufinus* inform us<sup>k</sup>. Nay, from *Gregory* we learn, it was

τέμνητοι· ἔδὲ γὰρ τὸ τρίτον θαῦμα τὸ ὕστερον ἐπληρώ-  
μενον, εἰς πίσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἦλθον αὐτοί. — πεπώραν-  
το ἔν καλὰ ἡ Ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχον-  
τες ἔρριπτον. *Socr. L. iii. c. 20.*

<sup>k</sup> Ἐπιδειξάτωσαν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐσθῆτας, οἱ τῷ  
θαύματι ἐκείνῃ διαλαλεῖν καὶ μύσαι — ὅμῃ τε γὰρ ταῦτα  
διηγείτω τις, εἴτ' ἔν ἡμετέροις, εἴτ' ἔν ξένων —  
*Naz. Orat. ix.* — In sequenti nocte in vestimentis om-  
nium signaculum crucis. *Ruf. L. x. c. 37.*

impressed

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impressed on the habits of such of the *believers*, likewise, as were present. And, indeed, but for this circumstance, the false miracle of *Theophanes* had never been invented, or at least had been differently fashioned: for he covers the very church-books and sacred vestments with Crosses, And, what is chiefly worth observing is, that this falling of the crosses *indifferently* on all parties present, confirms the physical account we have given of their nature. 2. My second observation is, That as *Socrates* records the effect of this miracle on the *Jews*, so *Greg. Nazianzene* records the effect of it on the *Gentiles*: For this Father having insulted and triumphed over their *Mathematicians* and *Astronomers* on the subject of the aerial Cross; goes on to speak of *that* upon the habits of the persons present; and concludes his account in this manner; *So great was the astonishment of the spectators, that almost all of them, as at a common sign, with one voice invoked for mercy the God of the Christians, and strove to render him propitious with hymns and supplications. And many of them, without procrastinating, but, at the very time these things happened, addressing themselves to our Priests*  
*with*



with earnest prayers, were admitted into the bosom of the church<sup>1</sup>, &c. Where we may observe the different language of Nazianzene on this occasion speaking of the Gentiles, from that of Socrates, who spoke of the Jews. The first says, τὸν ἄλλον Θεόν, the Other, — ἄλλους ὁμολόγησαν τὸν Χριστὸν Θεὸν λέγοντες. The Gentiles implored the protection of the great God of Heaven, whom they had before neglected: the Jews were forced to own that Christ to be God, whom they had before rejected.

THIS being premised, we come now to SOZOMENE and THEODORET; who, our learned Critic affirms, have contradicted Socrates, in pretending that the greater part embraced the Christian faith.

I WILL give the passage of Sozomene entire. *After these things*, [namely the earth-

<sup>1</sup> Τὸσαύτη τῶν ὀρωμῶν κατὰ πληξίς, ὡς μικρὰ μὲν ἁπλῆς ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς συνθήματός τε καὶ μιᾶς φωνῆς, — τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι Θεόν, ἀΐψημιας τε πολλῶν καὶ ἰκεσίαις αὐτὸν ἐξιλάσκεισθαι. πολλὰς δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἀναβολὰς, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὰ τῶν συμβάντων προσδεσμονίας τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ πολλὰ καλεσθέντας τὸ τε ἐκκλησίᾳς ἡμετέρας μέγας, &c. Orat. ix.

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 quake and firey eruption] another miracle  
 happened, more illustrious and wonderful than  
 the foregoing : for, on a sudden, and without  
 human agency, every man's habit was im-  
 pressed with the sign of the Cross. — The  
 consequence of this was, that some, on the in-  
 stant, concluded Christ to be God, and that  
 the restoration of the Temple was displeasing  
 to him. While others, not long after, went  
 over to the Church and were baptized; and  
 by hymns and supplications, in behalf of the  
 guilty, endeavoured to appease the wrath of  
 the Son of God<sup>m</sup>.

As evident as it certainly is that Socrates  
 spoke only of the Jews; and Greg. Nazian-  
 zene only of the Gentiles; so certain is it,  
 that Sozomene, who took from both of them,  
 speaks both of Jews and Gentiles.

<sup>m</sup> Ἐπὶ τῷ ᾧ καὶ ἄλλο ξωνήχθη, ὃ πρότερον Κα-  
 φέσερόν τε καὶ πᾶσιδοξότερον· αὐτομάτως γὰρ πάντων ἡ  
 ἰδὴς τοῦ (ἡμῶν) τοῦ σταυροῦ κατεσημαίνθη — ἐν τῷ ᾧ,  
 τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκείνη θεὸν εἶναι ἔχριστον, καὶ μὴ ὁ-  
 ρεῖσθαι τῇ ἀνανεύσει τῆς ναῦ· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι εἰς μακροῦν  
 προσέθεντο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐμνήθησαν, καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ἱκεσίαις  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν τειλολημμένων αὐτοῖς, ἔχριστον ἱλάσκοντο.  
 Eccl. Hist. l. γ. c. 22.

He

HE says every man's habit was marked with a Cross. That is, as Greg. Naz. had said before, every man indifferently, whether Jew or Gentile. He then mentions the consequence of this prodigy, not on the Jews only, but on the Gentiles. *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις*—And as it was reasonable to expect it would have a different effect on these different Bigots; he first speaks of what it had upon the Jews, that, *on the instant, they confessed Christ to be God.* This is no more then Socrates had said. They only differ in the manner of telling: For while Socrates goes on to inform us, in express words, that the confession was not lasting, and that they presently fell back into their old superstition; Sozomene contents himself to lead his reader to the same conclusion, by opposing this sudden flash of conviction, to the real and lasting conversion of the Pagans, as he found it recorded by Gregory. Others (says he) not long after went over to the Church, &c. From hence it appears, that Sozomene is so far from contradicting Socrates, on this article, that he lends him all the support a concurrent testimony can afford.



THEODORET comes next. And him too the learned Critic hath involved in the same charge of contradiction; but with much less pretence. For he, like *Socrates*, speaks only of the *Jews*; and, in such a manner too, as if he had *Socrates* all the way in his eye. The whole of what he says is to this effect:—*The very garments also of the Jews were filled with Crosses— which these enemies of God seeing, and fearing that his hand now exerted might fall upon themselves, fled away, and returned every man to his place, confessing him to be God, whom their forefathers affixed to the tree*<sup>n</sup>.

AND now, what is there that can countenance M. Basnage in saying, that *Theodoret* pretends the greater part embraced the *Christian faith*? Is not the confession he records the very same with that which, *Socrates* tells us, so soon passed away in their returning infidelity, insinuated in the very

<sup>n</sup> Καὶ αὐτὰ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐσθήματα σταυρῶν ἐπιπλήρωτο, ταῦτα οἱ ἀνιθεοὶ θεασάμενοι, καὶ τὰς θελάττας μάστιγας ὀρρωδῆσαντες, ἀπέδρασαν τε καὶ τὰ οἰκῆα κατέλαβον, θεὸν ὁμολογῶντες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τῷ ξύλῳ προσηλωθέντα. Eccl. Hist. L. iii. cap. 20.

words,

words, τὰ οἰκῆα κατέλαβον? We conclude, therefore, against the learned Critic's objection, that, in this article, there is a perfect harmony amongst the three Historians.

BUT it will be said perhaps that, in clearing away this objection, I make room for another, that may prove more stubborn, and difficult to remove. "For it seems incredible that so illustrious a miracle should have made no impression on the *Jews*; and yet have had so considerable an effect upon the *Gentiles*. An objection, which seems to be redoubled upon one who hath affirmed<sup>e</sup>, that a *Jew's* conviction of the truth of Christianity must, on his own notions of the *unity*, be necessarily attended with a Conversion: while that Polytheistic principle of *intercommunity*, did not imply the necessity of a *Gentile's* conversion under the same conviction."

To this I answer, It is very true, that a Miracle performed before a *Pagan*, and not directly addressed to him, made, for the most part, but a small impression on his religious notions; because that general principle of Paganism hindered him from see-

<sup>e</sup> See Div. Leg. B. ii. Sect. 6. See also B. v. Sect. 6.  
ing.

ing, that the evident truth of *another* religion necessarily implied the falshood of his *own*. It was different with the *Jew*; who, being a worshiper of the true God, must necessarily regard his attestation, by miracle, not simply as an evidence of the truth proposed, but as an obligation upon all men to embrace it. Hence the Apostle *Paul*, who best knew the different geniuses of the two opposed Religions, says, *The Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: Σοφίαν*, the religious principles of their philosophy: in the chief of which was the doctrine of *intercommunity*.

HAD the *Jews* therefore considered this Miracle at *Jerusalem*, as an attestation to the truth of *Christianity*, they must have embraced it. And to affirm they did so consider it, and yet not embrace it, would, it must be owned, be saying something strangely incredible. But this was not the case. In their fright they might call out upon *Christ as God*; but when that was over, their prejudice regained its hold, and drew them back to their ancient superstition; however it could not have kept them there, but that it enabled them to find a purpose



purpose, in this Miracle, very well consistent with *Judaism*: And this was *God's anger* at their prophaning a work so holy, by consenting to put it under the direction of a Pagan Emperor. This would be easily credited by those who had learnt from their sacred Books that an *Israelite* was struck dead but for stretching out his hand to uphold the falling ARK. When, therefore, they saw and felt these severe marks of His displeasure, To what would they ascribe it, but to their accepting the impure assistance of an impious Gentile to rebuild the House of the Divine presence? For could it be expected, (would their Leaders now say) when God had denied this honour to the *Man after his own heart*, because his hands were defiled with blood, that he would confer it upon a Pagan, a Warrior, and a declared Enemy to that Dispensation; a zeal for which was *David's* great merit with the God of *Israel*? We see, by the passage quoted above \* from *R. Gedaliah ben Joseph Jechaja*, that some such reasoning as this, which a *Father* † of the Church seemed to

\* P. 88.

† St. *Chrysostome*, speaking of the readiness of the

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think did not want its weight, enabled them to own the Miracle without blushing. But had they even wanted so plausible an evasion, yet their prejudices would not have suffered them to be nice in a case where the whole of their Religion lay at stake : In such cases, they were not used to be delicate ; as appears by a parallel instance, in the bungling solutions they invented to evade the consequences arising from the Miracles of *Jesus* himself. Sometimes they ascribed his power (as the Gospel tells us) to the assistance of the evil Dæmon ; and sometimes, again (as the books of their Traditions inform us) to certain spells or charms stolen from the Temple of *Solomon*.

HOWEVER, tho' the Miracle at *Jerusalem* was too notorious to be questioned in that Age ; and so, was to be accounted for in the manner we have seen ; yet in Afterwards, it was thought safer to *deny* it ; tho' still by the *modest* way of an implication,

*Jews* to accept *Julian's* assistance, says, — Καὶ οὐκ ἤ-  
χωντο οἱ μαγοὶ καὶ ἀναιχιστοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες αἰετῆς καὶ  
ἐλλωσὶ ταῦτα αἰτῶντες, καὶ τὰς μαγίας ἐκείνῃ χε-  
ρὲς καλῶντες ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγίων οἰκοδομῇ. *Hem. v.*  
*adv. Jud.*

Thus

Thus (as we have seen above <sup>1</sup>) *R. David Gans*, pretends, that the miscarriage in the *Persian* war prevented the rebuilding their Temple—*Nam Cæsar in bello Persico periit.* Another of them invents a very different tale (for falshood is rarely constant) and pretends that a sly trick of the *Samaritans* made both the *Jews* and the Emperor, in their turns, weary of the project. But so foolish a story will hardly bear the telling. However the Reader may find it below.

•P. 66.

• In diebus *R. Jehosuah Hananiæ filii*, mandavit Imperator ut *Templum reedificaretur.* *Papus* autem, & *JULIANUS* opiparas mensas præponunt *Judæis* à captivitate advenientibus (ad opus adjuvandum) ab *Hako* ad *Antiochiam.* *Cutei* vero seu *Samaritani* Imperatori asserunt, quod si *Hierusalem* restauretur, *Judæos* a contribuendis vectigalibus cessaturos, indeque ab illo defecturos; quibus Imperator: Quomodo inquit, licet mihi ab incepto recedere post mandati promulgationem? Ad quod *Samaritani,* Domine, inquit, præcipe ergo, ut locum prioris Templi mutant, vel ut augeatur aut diminuat in longitudine vel latitudine circa quinque cubitos, itaque, nullo cogente, opus destituent. Huic sententiæ acquievit Imperator; atque juxta eam, novum misit *Judæis* mandatum in valle *Bet-Rimon* aggregatis, quo audito, in magnum prorumpunt fletum, indeque furore perciti de defectione loquuntur; sed *Magnates*



—And in this manner too they treated the Miracles of *Jesus*: for tho', at first, they only tried to evade their force; they ventured at length to deny their reality.

ON the whole, then, we see, That the inveterate *prejudices* of the *Jews*; their *obstinacy* in the wrong; and their *aversion* to the Christian name, would hinder a miracle from having its proper effect upon them, could they but contrive either to put it to the support of their own superstitions, or, at least, to turn it from the condemnation of them. We see, the miracle in question might be thus evaded. Who then can

defectionis consequentiis valde perterriti, implorant a prædicto R. Jehosuah, ut populum alloquatur, eumque ad pacem adducere conetur, quod fecit sequenti fabula. Leo a frustulo ossis in ejus gutture infixio admodum afflictus, magnam spondet mercedem cuicumque molestum os ab ejus gutture averruncaret. Accedit Grus, os averruncat, & mercedem petit. Cui Leo, Jacta te ipsum, inquit, quod ingressus es in Leonis os in pace, & egressus es in pace. Sic, fratres, sufficit ut ingressi simus sub hujus gentis potestate in pace, & egrediamur in pace. Hæc sunt Beresit-Raba verba fideliter translata, ex fine cap. 64. Hoc accidit anno ab orbe condito circa 4833, secundum R. David Ganz in ejus *Zemah David*.

doubt

doubt but they would evade it? The consequence was, their continuance in error. The Christian writers tell us they did so continue. And we now find, They say nothing but what is very probable.

THE contrary effect of this Miracle on *Paganism* is as easily understood. For tho' the principle of *intercommunity* supported a Gentile against the power of miracles at large; yet when he found one of them levelled at himself, as its direct object, the case would be altered. He would then feel the point in question brought home to him; and the circumstances of affright and desolation (if, as here, the miracle was attended with any such) would keep off prejudice till Reason had passed a fair judgment. The *Jews* and *Gentiles* joined cordially in this project. The prime motive of the *Jews* was a *fond* desire to be restored to their Country and Religion; but that of the *Gentiles*, a *malicious* purpose to give the lye to Revelation. And, without doubt, the moral *impression* on the defeat would be relative to the *motive* of the attempt. They thought to dishonour the holy Faith; and they added new credit to it. So that a

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consciousness of their intentions would add proportionable facility to their conversion. The Jewish evasion would not serve their purpose. At most, it could only make them waver between the Church and the Synagogue; a state of no long continuance. Sozomene assures us it was soon over; *In a little time* (says he) *οἱ εἰς μακρόν, they went over to the Church and were baptised.*

BUT, before we leave this subject, it may be proper to observe, That general expressions, relative to Parties, and bodies of men, are not to be understood universally. Thus when the Historians tell us, *all* were marked with the Cross, They do not mean every individual present; but all indifferently, of every denomination. So again, when they say, the Pagans were converted, and the Jews remained hardened, They do not mean every particular man; but the far greater number in either party. And thus St. Chrysostome directs us to understand it; where he says, *that the Jews, for the most part, remained hardened.*

It is scarce worth while to take notice, that what M. Basnage affirms (of Sozomene  
Tom. v. Orat. xlv.

and



and Theodoret's saying, *That the news of the Jews' conversion reached even the ears of the Emperor Julian himself*) is as mistaken as the rest. For Sozomene says nothing of the matter : and as to Theodoret, his words are as follows: *These things came to the ears of Julian, for they were cried up, and in the mouths of all men; but his heart was hardened like Pharaoh's*: where we see, by ταῦτα he means the Miracles. For it was not the *conversion*, which was in the mouths of all men, but the *miracles*. And Julian's resisting these, was what made his case like Pharaoh's.

OUR Critic, having now well canvassed the *Evidence*, tells us for what purpose he hath given himself this trouble; *It was to supply those sober persons, who do not believe the miracle, with arguments to fortify their doubts.* But as if something was still wanting to so good an end, he resumes his task, and says, *he will add two observations more.*

Ταῦτα ἔκρυψε μὴ Ἰουλιανός, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὅς ἦσαν.  
τῷ δὲ Φαραῶ ἀπαπλησίως τινὲ καρδίαν ἐκλήρωσεν.  
L. iii. c. 20.

THE first is, That the argument Sozomene brings, to prove the truth of what he advances, is a very weak one. He appeals to the issue; and maintains, we can no longer doubt of this long train of miracles since the Temple was never finished. But (says the Critic) has the Historian forgot that the Jews did not obtain their permission till the time of Julian's setting out for his Persian expedition, in which he perished? There was then little need for all these Miracles, to hinder the erection of a building. Surely a sufficient cause of cutting short an enterprize of this nature, might be found in the opposition of the Christians, who might take advantage of the Prince's absence in a remote region, his death there, and the advancement of Jovian to the Empire, who had an aversion for the Jews. Besides, the Historian refers his readers in a vague indefinite manner to the eye-witnesses of the fact, without pointing out one single person by name.

HERE are many things asserted, that will deserve to be examined,

1. HE misrepresents the matter, in saying that Sozomene gives the unbuilt Temple

as a proof of its being obstructed by a miracle. To such reasoning, I own, M. *Basnage's* observation of *Julian's absence and death, &c.* had been a good reply. But *Sozomene's* argument stands thus: "The yielding up the place, and leaving the work imperfect, *ἡμῖν ἐλὲς τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀλιπρόν/τες*, is a proof of the miraculous interposition." Now, it is one thing to *see a work unfinished*; and another, to *know who* left it in that condition. From the first (which is as Mr. *Basnage* represents it) *Sozomene's* conclusion would not hold; from the latter (which is as *Sozomene* himself puts it) his conclusion may be very fairly drawn. But to this it may be objected, "That, at the time *Sozomene* made this observation, the two different representations amounted to one and the same thing; because all that the Reader could see, was a *work unfinished*; and, for the rest, he had only the Historian's word." This, our Adversaries will allow to be fairly put. But they are not aware, that when *Sozomene* wrote, the face of things, upon the place, was such as was sufficient to convince his Readers that the *Jews and Gentiles* were forcibly driven from their work; namely the marks of a deso-

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lating



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lating earthquake, and a consuming fire, *Chrysostome* tells us, these existed when he wrote; and it would be absurd to think that such kind of marks could be obliterated so soon after.

Thus far in defence of the Historian's argument, falsely represented by the Critic. I proceed to consider the false Fact, which the Critic has advanced, in support of his false representation. He says, *that the Jews did not obtain their permission to rebuild the Temple, till the time Julian set out for his Persian expedition.* This he grounds on the words of *Socrates*, *Κελεύει τὰς ἐκκλησίας τὸν Σολομῶν ἱερόν, ὃς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἤλαυνε.* which the Latin Translator renders, *Solomonis Templum protinus instaurari jubet. Ipse interim ad bellum contra Persas proficiscitur.* But ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἤλαυνε does not signify he forthwith began his march, as if it had been ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορεύεσθαι; but that he began the war against them, by putting every thing in a hostile motion; which he might do while he stayed at *Antioch*. And *Amm. Marcellinus*, who was, at that time, with *Julian*, and of his Court, tells us, that the

Erup-

Eruption, which put an end to the Project, happened before his Master left *Antioch*.

BUT the Critic's *inference* from this will deserve a more particular consideration — so that there was little need of all these miracles to hinder the erection of a single building. Surely a sufficient cause for cutting short an enterprise of this nature may be found in the opposition of the Christians, who might take advantage of the Prince's absence in a remote region, of his death there, and the advancement of *Jovian*, who was an enemy to the Jews.

HERE are two things reprehensible in this inference, 1. A false state of the case; 2. and a groundless insinuation.

1. He speaks as if these miracles were work'd only to hinder the simple erection of a building for superstitious worship; the error of *Ambrose*, taken notice of above. Whereas there was much more in the affair. It's erection would have contradicted the Prophecies, and opposed the declared nature of the Gospel dispensation. In the first case, there seemed no sufficient reason to interfere; in the latter, an interposition was necessary.

2. HE

2. HE *insinuates*, that the real obstruction came from the *Christians* in *Julian's* absence; — from his unexpected death; — and from the succession of a Christian to the Empire. This, we see, is only his opinion; I think differently; and had I nothing but my conjectures to oppose to *his*, here I would leave it: But, without betraying the cause I have undertaken, I cannot omit to remind the Reader, that the Critic's *insinuation* is utterly discredited by the concurrent testimony of two unexceptionable witnesses, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Julian* himself: From both of whom<sup>\*</sup> we learn, That the affair of the Temple-project was all over before the Emperor removed from *Antioch*.

BUT there is still something behind the curtain: which, either prudence or modesty, made the Critic backward to subject to the abuse of every licentious Reader. But I am always for letting Truth be trusted with itself: Therefore, to disguise nothing, I would observe, that one of the strongest objections to the Miracle seems here to be obscurely insinuated. Whether he saw it

<sup>\*</sup>See p. 56, 57, 74, & seq.



in it's full force my be doubted. However, here it is : and the Reader shall have no reason to complain that it does not come with it's best foot forward. I will suppose then M. *Basnage* to make the following objection :

“ THAT admitting, the re-edification of the Temple was both contrary to the words of the old Prophecies, and to the nature of the new Dispensation ; yet, as the Projector of this affront upon Religion was suddenly cut off, and succeeded by a Christian Emperor, before any considerable progress could be made, there was no need of a Miracle to defeat the attempt ; and God is not wont to make a needless waste of Miracles.”

THE Objection, we see, is specious, and, at first view, will be apt to impose upon us. But let us weigh it's real value.

THE case is agreed to be this, The two inveterate Enemies of the Christian name conspire together, tho' with different views, to blast its credit, and dishonour its pretensions : And this, in a point so essential, that the Religion itself must stand or fall with the issue of the event.

THEY

THEY put their design in execution. The materials are collected, the workmen assembled, the foundations laid, and the superstructure now advances without stop or impediment. In a word, every thing succeeds to their wishes. When, on a sudden, one of the most common accidents in the world blasts the whole project; a giddy headstrong Prince<sup>y</sup> perishes in a rash adventure against a fierce and subtle enemy.

IN this case, what would the World have thought; the World, which never thinks favourably of Religious novelties; and which this bold defiance of the power of *Christ* had set at gaze, and made impatient for the event<sup>z</sup>? Would it not have said, that *Christianity* was beholden to a mere accident; while the Power, that should have

<sup>y</sup> The temper and character of this Prince was so well known, that, when he consulted the Gods about his fate, the Priests were in no danger of discrediting their Oracles, by a mistaken conjecture. They told him he should die a violent death. This he himself informs us of in his last Harangue to his Friends.—*Nec fateri pudebit, interitum me ferro dudum didici fide fatidica præcinente. Ann. Mar. l. xxv. c. 3.*

<sup>z</sup> See p. 91, 92.

sup-

supported it, was not at hand to vindicate its credit and reputation? And it was well if they had said no more. For the popular story, which the malice of the Pagans, and the indiscretion of some Christians, had set a going, *that Julian was assassinated by a Christian Soldier*, would, in that case, have been enough to raise Suspicions that the *Faith* had been propagated, at first, by as indirect means as it was now supported.

THE *Jews* had twice before projected the restoration of their *temple-worship*: Once under *Hadrian*; and once again, under *Constantine*. At those junctures the attempt had none of this malice and formed impiety against the divinity of our holy Faith. The Gentiles then gave the Jews no assistance or support: and it was in them a simple, natural desire of returning to their own land, and of re-establishing their country-Rites. But still, it being contrary to God's religious oeconomy, the design was defeated by the *policy* of *Hadrian*, and the *zeal* of *Constantine*; and these *civil* impediments were sufficient to cover the honour of Religion. For, in these two instances, God's transaction was only with his Church.

He



He promised to support it to the end of time, and he equally performs his promise whether that protection be conveyed by the Mortal instruments with which he works in the course of his general Providence, and whose blindness is guided by his all-seeing eye: or whether it be immediately afforded by the sudden arrest and new direction of Nature, irresistibly impelled by his all-powerful hand.

BUT the case was different in the affair before us. Here God had a controversy with his Enemies. His Power was defied, his Protection scorned, and his Godhead dared and challenged to interpose between Them and his Servants. At this important juncture, to let a natural event decide the quarrel; and to urge *that* as a proof of his victory, would be taking for granted the thing in question. For the affair was not with his Friends, who believed his superintendency; but with his Enemies, who laughed at and despised it. Not to shew himself, on this occasion, in all the terror of offended Majesty, must have exposed his Religion to the same contempt as if the  
very

very pinnacles of the new-projected Temple had been completed.

BUT this is not all. A PROPHECY, such as this, concerning the *final* destruction of the Temple, is of the nature of a PROHIBITORY LAW. For God's *foretelling* a thing *should never be*, contains in it a *prohibition* to do it: because that information is founded in *his own* Will, or Command; not in the Will or Command of *another*: therefore that *Will* binds all, to whose knowledge it arrives. This Law came to the knowledge of our Projectors, as appears from their very impiety in defying it<sup>a</sup>. But it is of the nature and essence of *Law*, to have penal sanctions. Without them, all Laws are vain; especially *prohibitory Laws*. Now these Transgressors were as culpable in beginning the foundations, as they could

<sup>a</sup> Πάντα ὅ τὰ ἄλλα δόξα ἦν ὁ πονηρὸς, βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, καὶ πᾶσιν Ἰουδαίοις· οἱ μὲν ᾧ ὅτι Ἰουδαίους συνοικοῦντες, ἐκοινωνοῦν, αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ὑπολαβόντες, διώσθαι κατορθῶν τὸ ἐχέτημα, καὶ ψεύδεις ἀπελέγχει ὁ Χριστὸς τὰς προφῆτας. οἱ δὲ, ἅμα τὸτο διενοήθη, καὶ καιρὸν ἔχον ὥστε ἀναστῆναι τὸ ἱερόν— τὴν δεσποτικὴν ὑπολαμβάνων ὁ Μάταιος προφῆταις διαλέγων. Theod. l. iii. c. 20. Sozem. l. v. c. 22.

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have

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have been had they lived to finish their work. Therefore to see them escape punishment, and safely and quietly go off when the change of times forbade them to proceed (a change, which had nothing in it more wonderful than the death of a rash Adventurer in battle) must have argued, that God was no more concerned in the issue of this, than of all other natural events; and consequently, that these *boasted Prophecies*, and this *pretended Gospel*, were the inventions of men. I believe modern Infidels would scarce have spared us, had they taken Church-history at this advantage.

BUT now, by a timely interposition, the honour of Religion was secured: And, an exemplary punishment being inflicted, the reverence of his Laws, the credit of his Messengers, and the Regal Dignity of his Son, were all amply vindicated.

WHILE I am upon this subject, let me observe, what, perhaps, I might have found a better place for, That the forbearance of *Jovian* and *Valentinian* to revenge on those forward creatures in power, the insults and injuries offered on this occasion to many peaceable



peaceable and honest men, is no slight proof of the reality of a miraculous interposition: For it shewed the Church fully satisfied that God had avenged his own cause. Gregory Nazianzene ends his *Discourse against Julian* with an excellent persuasive to forgiveness; wherein he exhorts the Christians to sacrifice their resentments, as a *Thank-offering*, to God: ἐν ἰδῶμεν (says he) τῷ Θεῷ χάρις ἡμεῖς.

THUS having set this Objection in the best light we were able, both for the honour of Religion, and the credit of M. *Basnage's* criticism; and seen to what it amounts; we leave it to the Reader to make his conclusions on the general question.

M. *Basnage* goes on in these words,—*Besides, the Historian [Sozomene] refers his Readers in a vague indefinite manner to the eye-witnesses of the Fact, without pointing out one single person by name.*

OBJECTORS are often too careless where their random reflections will light. This will fall upon the Apostle's narrative as well as our Historian's. St. *Paul*, arguing against some who denied the Resurrection from the dead, confutes them by the resurrection of

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*Jesus; who was seen, after he was risen,*  
*of above five hundred brethren at once, of*  
*whom (says he, without specifying any one*  
*by name) the greater part remain unto this*  
*present, but some are fallen asleep<sup>b</sup>.*

SOZOMENE writes a general history of the Church, for the use of the whole Christian world: and speaking, in its place, of the event at Jerusalem, he concludes his account in this manner: *Should these things seem incredible to any one, Those who have had their information from eye-witnesses, and are yet alive, will confirm it to him<sup>c</sup>.* Of which number, if he himself was not one; yet, at least, he had his account from one. In either case, this was proper satisfaction to a Doubter. And it had been impertinent to add, that "amongst these were John, Thomas or Andrew of Jerusalem;" obscure names, which would have given his Reader no more satisfaction, than what his general information had conveyed before. But it may be said, that St. Paul, besides his vague account of five hundred, adds the

<sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 6. <sup>c</sup> Ταῦτα ὅτι πιστὰ ἔστι καὶ καταφαίνονται, πιστεύουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς διακονίας ἀνθρώπων διηκούτες ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ὡς ὄντες. 1. v. c. 22.

names of *Cephas, James, and himself.* And so, doubtless, would *Sozomene* have done, had he either seen it himself, or known any that had, with whose names his Reader was as well acquainted, as the *Corinthians* were with *Cephas, James, and the rest of the Twelve.* What he hath done was what common sense dictated he should do. But *M. Basnage* seems to expect in a general History all the circumstance and precision of a *procès-verbal.*

HOWEVER, thus much we learn from these *vague* words of *Sozomene*, that he was not a mere copier; but, to verify his story, went as nigh the fountain head as he could get. And this being the practice of these three honest and judicious historians, we need not wonder that *One* should mention *this* incident, and *Another, that*, just as they received their information from the most credible of the *first ear-witnesses* they could find then alive; which too, by the way, is sufficient to take off all *M. Basnage* urges on the head of *variations.* But had we taken his *VARIATIONS* from him, what were he then? An Artist without the proper tool of his trade; for a *professed Objector*



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never borrowed more than this from the ma-  
gazine of Quintilian—*ARTIFICIS est in-  
venire in actione adversarii quæ inter semet-  
ipsa pugnent, aut PUGNARE VIDEANTUR.*

WE are now come to the end of this long  
piece of Criticism, which concludes in these  
words: But lastly, Cyril of Jerusalem, who  
was, at that time, Bishop of the place, and  
must have been upon the spot, since it was he,  
who, confiding in a prophecy of Daniel (which  
had foretold, as he thought, that the attempt  
would prove unsuccessful) encouraged and  
animated the people to repose their confidence  
in God. Notwithstanding, this same Cyril  
hath never taken the least notice of these many  
miracles: and yet it certainly was not, be-  
cause he was no friend to miracles: We are  
told he wrote to Constantine the younger, to  
inform him, that he was more happy than his  
father, under whose empire the Cross of Christ  
had been found here on earth; since Heaven,  
to grace his reign, had displayed a more illu-  
strious prodigy: which was a Cross much  
brighter than the Sun, seen in the firmament,  
for a long time together, by the whole city of  
Jerusalem. Why now was that Cross remem-  
bered, and all these miracles forgotten? He  
assures

assures the Jews they shall see the sign of the Cross; and that it will precede the coming of the Son of God; and yet he says not one word of those which had been miraculously affixed on their habits. The silence of a Bishop, who was upon the place, who loved miracles, and laboured for the conversion of the Jews, looks very suspicious; while, at the same time, those who do speak to it, lived at a distance.

THE supposed fact, as here stated, concerning Cyril's testimony, is indeed a material objection to the Miracle. What shall we say then? Would not any one conclude that this learned man, a real friend to Revelation, and a faithful Historian, had weighed it well before he ventured to pronounce upon its consequences, in so public a manner? Who would suspect that He has taken *one* thing for granted, which every body knows to be false; and *another*, which no body can know, to be true?

He takes it for granted, that the works which now remain of Cyril, were written *after* the event; whereas they were all written *before*. These are the *Catecheses ad competentes*, the *Catecheses mystagogicæ*, and the *Epistle to Constantius*: the two first

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bear date about 347, and the latter in 351;  
Those, sixteen; This, twelve years *before*  
the miracle in question. And the worst is,  
the learned Critic could not but know it.

If he had no intention to deceive by this  
captious insinuation, we must lay the blame  
on his careless expression; and that his ar-  
gument from *Cyril's* silence, when set in  
the best light, stands thus:

“THE pretended miracle at the Temple  
of *Jerusalem* happened in the year 363.  
*Cyril* lived to the year 386, so that we can-  
not but conclude, he wrote and preached  
much within that period. He appears to  
be fond of recording miracles: but he had  
peculiar reasons to celebrate, and expatiate  
upon, *this*. It favoured his charitable zeal  
for the conversion of the *Jews*; but, above  
all, the glory of it reflected much lustre up-  
on himself, as he had predicted the defeat.  
Had he therefore known it to be true, he  
must have recorded it. But the silence of  
Antiquity concerning his testimony shews  
he did not record it. For to whom but to  
*Cyril*, the Bishop of the place, and then  
upon the spot, should the ancient relators  
of the fact have appealed? Yet he was not  
forgotten



forgotten in the croud : for they tell us of his faith in the *prophecy of Daniel*. We must, therefore, conclude, that the event, whatever it was, had struck the good Bishop dumb ; and that his silence proceeded from that sort of confusion, which we now-a-days see in the *modest part* of our *Revelation-Prophecies*, when some unexpected event between the *Turk* and the *Emperor* has disconcerted the scheme they had chalked out for the direction of Divine Providence."

It will hardly be thought, I have not done the argument justice. Let us see then what can be said to it.

I. WHETHER *Cyril* left any thing behind him (except what he wrote before the event) is not any where said. Some perhaps may conclude from *Jerom*, that he wrote nothing after this time : For, in *Jerom's* catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, the works mentioned above are given as a complete list of what *Cyril* wrote : and it is scarce to be supposed that any of his writings should have perished between his time and that of *Jerom*.

2. CYRIL might write many things, and yet none relative to this affair; or in which he could properly introduce it.

3. HE might have given the history of it in all its circumstances, and yet these three Historians (to whom M. *Basnage's* observation is confined) not been guilty of any neglect in not mentioning his testimony *by name*. Or if it were a neglect, it was the same they committed in passing over two other contemporary writers, *Gregory Nazianzene* and *John Chrysostome*; one of whom has spoken fully, and the other frequently to the miracle in question. But to this, perhaps, it may be replied, "That tho' they have not quoted them, yet they have referred to, and borrowed from them." How does the Objector know that? —From the *Homilies* of the One, and the *Invectives* of the Other, now remaining. —Very well: and for aught he knows to the contrary, had any of *Cyril's* supposed works been remaining, we should have found Them quoting from, and referring to Him; especially, as They relate several circumstances, mentioned neither by *Gregory* nor *Chrysostom*. Had *Gregory's* works

works been lost, we had been as unable to know that they borrowed from *Him*, as we now are that they borrowed from *Cyril*.

4. As to Their recording the good Bishop's prophetic *confidence* in the divine interposition, and at the same time overlooking his Testimony to the miracle that followed, a very good reason may be given; and such a one as does honour to their judgment. *Cyril* was *singular* in the first case; and but *one of many* in the other. They took, therefore, from him what no other could supply: and what was to be found every where (the testimony to the miracle) they left in common to the church.

5. As to the objection, from the circumstance of *Cyril's loving miracles*, let me observe, That if it could be proved, from a work of his written after 363, that he had neglected any fair occasion to record the defeat of *Julian*, The objection would have some weight. But in the total uncertainty whether he did record the story or no, it turns against the Objector, as the circumstance of *Cyril's loving miracles* adds probability to the affirmative, That, if he did  
write



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write at all, he would find room for a subject he loved to write upon,

6. BUT since the learned Critic hath been pleased to speak slightly of this excellent Prelate, as if he were both fanatical in interpreting Prophecies, and bigotted in believing Miracles; so much will be due to the virtues of a worthy man, (how far soever removed in time and place) as to vindicate him from unfair aspersions; due especially from us, as this justice to his character will be seen to reflect credit on the share he took in opposing *Julian's* attempt. There is a story recorded of him, for which every good man will reverence his memory. He had an Ecclesiastical squabble with Aca-cius Bishop of Casarea, about Metropolit-ical Jurisdiction. Cyril despised so frivolous a contest; and refused to appear before the Palestine Synod, to which his factious Adversary had delated him. Whereon, the Synod agreed to depose Cyril, for contempt. But to give their Sentence a shew of credit against so distinguished a personage, they added this crime to the other, That once, in a desolating famine, he disposed of the treasures of his Church  
to

to feed the Poor. This action, to becoming a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, fully shews, that, whether he had a right to metropolitical Jurisdiction or no, he well deserved it. But the crying part of this sacrilege is yet behind: It seems, that in the sale of his sacred Wardrobe, a reverend Stole, interwoven with gold, and made yet more illustrious by the *sanctity* of its Giver, *Constantine the Great*, came at length, in the ceaseless round of property, into the possession of a notorious Prostitute, who flourished with it on the public stage.

M. *Basnage* concludes his remark on *Cyril* in this manner: *The silence of a Bishop, who was upon the place, looks very suspicious; while, at the same time, those who do speak to it lived at a distance.* Admitting the Bishop was indeed silent, How could this learned man, who forms his charge on the information of the three Historians, say, that *those who speak to the miracle lived at a distance*; when *Sozomene* plainly tells us, that, at the time he wrote, there were several still living, who had it from the eyewitnesses of the Fact? Here then, for the silence of *one* man, we have the testimony

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of many.—But *Sozomene* speaks of none by  
name—Who knows, then, but the Bishop  
might be amongst the *nameless*? It hath been  
many a Bishop's fate. However, *the testimony*  
*of the people on the Place* is directly *asserted*  
by the Historian; and the *silence* of *Cy-*  
*ril* only *inferred* by the Critic, from his  
not finding him amongst the Witnesses.

AND, with these reflections on the good  
Prelate, so unworthy the learning, the sense,  
and the ingenuity of *M. Basnage*, he con-  
cludes his OBJECTIONS *against the Miracle*.

WHAT follows is to shew his impartial-  
ity. “However (says he) it ought not to  
“be dissembled, that if one of the Jewish  
“Chronologists maintains, that the sudden  
“and unexpected death of *Julian* prevented  
“the rebuilding the Temple; another of  
“them assures us, it was rebuilt; and that  
“when this was done at a vast expence, it  
“tumbled down again; and, the next day,  
“a dreadful fire from Heaven melted all  
“the iron instruments which remained,  
“and destroyed an innumerable multitude  
“of the Jews. This confession of the  
“Rabbins is the more considerable, as it  
“reflects dishonour on the Nation; and  
“these



“these Gentry are not wont to copy from  
“the writings of the Christians.”

HERE, it must be owned, he hath approved himself *indifferent*: and if his Arguments *against* the miracle be more in number, than those *for* it; the *weight*, at least, on both sides is equal.

NOT that I would insinuate, as if this Rabbinical testimony was altogether impertinent. I have myself produced it in support of the Evidence<sup>c</sup>: and, principally for the sake of that circumstance, which M. Basnage so ingenuously acknowledges, — *That the Rabbins are not wont to copy from Christian Writers.*

NOR will I deny, that this Testimony hath its *proper place* in a religious *History of the Jews*. What I cannot reconcile to this great man's general character, nor even to that air of impartiality which he here professes to preserve, is, that when he hath brought out all he could invent to the discredit of the Miracle, he should content himself with producing only one single circumstance, and that, the least considerable,

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in its favour. Infomuch that if ever the  
conclusive testimonies of *Ammianus Mar-*  
*cellinus*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and *John*  
*Chrysostome* should be lost, and this piece of  
Criticism remain, the silence of so candid  
and knowing a writer as *M. Basnage* will  
be infinitely a better proof that no such  
Evidence had ever been, than what he him-  
self urges, from the silence of Antiquity,  
against the testimony of *Cyri*.

BUT, to end with this learned Critic.  
There is, I must confess, something so very  
odd in his conduct on this occasion, as can-  
not but give offence to every sober Reader.  
Yet I would by no means be thought to ap-  
prove of *Mr. Lowth's* uncharitable reflec-  
tions; which stand (as they often do  
amongst worse writers) in the place of a  
confutation. One may allow *M. Basnage*  
to have thought perversely; because this is  
an infirmity common to Believers and Un-  
believers: But one would never suspect a  
*Minister of the Gospel* of a formed design to  
undermine a Religion into whose service he  
had solemnly entered; nor, a *Man, truly*  
*learned*, of a bias to infidelity: such dispo-  
sitions imply gross knavery and ignorance;  
and

and M. *Basnage* approved himself, on all other occasions, a man of uncommon talents and integrity.

A STRONG prejudice against the Character of the *Fathers* was what, apparently, betrayed him into this unwarrantable conclusion: for, injuriously suspecting them of imposture whenever they speak of Miracles, he began with them where he should have ended; and read their accounts, not to examine facts yet in question, but to condemn frauds as already detected. Hence every *variation*, nay, every *variety* in their relations, appeared to him a *contradiction*. And that which indeed supports their joint testimony, was by this learned man imagined to be the very thing that overthrew it. But their best Vindication is a strict scrutiny into their Evidence<sup>d</sup>. This we have attempted; not as an Advocate for the *Fathers*, but an Inquirer after *Truth*. What hath been the issue must be left to the judgment of the Public.

<sup>d</sup> Whoever will take the pains of examining what the *Fathers*, and particularly Gregory Nazianzene, say of this Miracle; and will compare it with their Sentiments of the extraordinary reports that went about, concerning



C H A P. V.

WE go on with the remaining Objections to this miracle, in which we shall be more brief.

V. IN the next place it is pretended, "That this firey eruption was an ARTIFICIAL contrivance of the Christians to keep their Enemies at a distance. It is said, the *Egyptians*, from the earliest times, had the secret of mixing combustible materials in such a manner as to produce the effects of exploded Gunpowder: That Sir *William Temple*, Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and, an abler man than either of them, Sir *Thomas Browne* of *Norwich*, have dropt hints as if some of the greatest wonders, both in sacred and prophane Antiquity, were the effects of this destructive Composition; such as the Thunders and Lightening at the giving the *Law* from mount *Sinai*; the deaths of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* in their contest with *Aaron*; and the defeat of *Brennus* Julian's death, will see cause to confess, that they were not so credulous or so designing as they have been represented.

and

and his army of Gauls when they assaulted the Temple of *Apollo* at Delphi. This too, they say, will account for a strong mark of resemblance, between the Latter, and the defeat of *Julian*; in both which the impending destruction was predicted; in the one by *Cyril*; in the other, by the Priests of *Apollo*."

THE Objection, we see, supposes full power and opportunity, as well as profound address in these Christian Engineers: for let them be as knowing as you will, in all the hidden arts of *Egypt*, yet, if they had not elbow-room for their work, all their skill would come to nothing.

WE will examine how they were bestead in each of these particulars. At this important juncture the Christians were unarmed, and defenceless. They were forbidden by law to bear Office; and they every where submitted to the imperial Decrees. But This, to rebuild the Temple, was enforced by all the power and authority of the Empire. And the project was no

— In hoc partium certamine repente Antistites advenisse Deum clamant, &c. Just. l. xxiv. c. 8.

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 sooner on foot, than the place was possessed  
 and crouded with vast numbers of *Jews* and  
*Gentiles*. Nor was this all. The Chri-  
 stians were driven from the neighbourhood  
 of the holy place, by their just fears and  
 apprehensions. They had every thing to  
 expect from this impious combination. For  
 their Enemies of both parties came in crouds  
 to share and enjoy the approaching Tri-  
 umph; while each strove which should  
 exceed the other in violence and outrage.  
 Infomuch that *Some*, as *Chrysostome* assures  
 us, *absconded, and shut themselves up in their*  
*houses; others fled into deserts and solitudes,*  
*and avoided all places of public resort*<sup>f</sup>. So  
 that whatever the Priests of *Apollo* at *Delphi*  
 (who had their Town and Temple in pos-  
 session, and a good garrison to keep off the  
 enemy, till they were ready for their re-  
 ception) might find themselves capable of  
 performing; it is plain the poor Christian  
 Pastors (their Flocks dispersed, and them-  
 selves absconding) were utterly deprived  
 of all arms but those of Faith and Prayer.

<sup>f</sup> οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς ἐκρύπτοντο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς  
 τὰς ἐρημίας μετὰκίζοντο, καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἐφύγον.  
*Adv. Jud. Orat. v.*

This,



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This, I think, may stand for an answer to that resemblance between the *predictions* of Cyril, and the Priests of *Apollo*, from which the objection would deduce such consequences of suspicion.

BUT, let us allow them both Will and Opportunity to do the Feat: yet still, I apprehend, every likely *means* would be wanting. Chemical writers, indeed, in their romantic claims to Antiquity, have boasted much of the profound knowledge of the old *Egyptians* in the Spagiric Art: but this without the least proof, or warrant from History. The first authentic Account we have of *artificial fire* was an invention or discovery of the seventh Century. One *Callinicus*, an *Egyptian* of *Heliopolis*, fled from the *Saracens* (who then possessed that Country) to *Constantinople*<sup>s</sup>; and taught the Greeks a military mischief, called by them *ὕγρον πῦρ* [a liquid fire] but by the Franks, *feu Gregois*. It was composed, they tell us, of naphtha and bitumen; and was blown out of iron and brass Tubes; or shot from a kind of Crossbow. Wherever

<sup>s</sup> See Nicetas, Theophanes, Cedrenus, Constantius Porphyrogenetus.

it fell, it stuck, and burnt obstinately ; and was with great difficulty extinguished. Some, indeed, say it was accompanied with a sound like Thunder. But this is certain, the execution was not by the force of the explosion, but by a strong and continued burning. After this we hear of no other artificial fires till the thirteenth Century ; when our famous countryman, *Roger Bacon*, invented that very composition we call *Gunpowder*. He specifies all the ingredients ; and speaks of it as a discovery of his own. It was not long ere it was put in practice ; For, in the next Century, *Froissart*, and other French Historians, mention the use of *Cannon* ; and, as an invention of their own times.

It is true, that when the Missionaries had opened themselves a way into *China*, and were enabled to give us a more perfect account of that great Empire than we had received from the straggling Adventurers, who at several times had penetrated thither before them ; we are told, amongst the other wonders of these remote Regions, of Fire-arms, both great and small ; which had been in use for sixteen hundred years :  
nay,

may, these Missionaries go so far as to say, that they themselves had seen Cannon which had been cast six or eight Centuries before. But there are other, and more early accounts which shew we are not to depend entirely upon these. M. Renaudot hath given the public a translation of two Mahometan Voyagers, who visited the south part of *China*, in the ninth Century. These *Arabians* are curious in describing every thing rare and uncommon, or in the least differing from their own customs and manners: And yet they give us no hint of their meeting with this prodigious Machine; and such must Cannon needs be deemed by men unacquainted with the use of gunpowder. Four Centuries afterwards, *Marco Polo* the *Venetian*, a curious and intelligent Traveller, penetrated into *China* by the north: and he too is silent on this head. In the next Century our famous countryman *Mandevil* rambled thither. His genius was towards natural knowledge, having studied and professed Medicine; he was skilled likewise in most of the Languages of the East and West. This man sojourned a considerable time in *China*: He served in their Armies, and commanded in their strong



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Places : yet he takes not the least notice of Cannon, which he must have used, had there been any ; and the use of so interesting a novelty he would hardly have omitted to describe. For he set out on his travels in the year 1332 ; and *Larrey* says that the first piece of Cannon that had been seen in *France*, was in 1346. Though *Du Cange*<sup>h</sup> observes, that the Registers of the Chamber of accounts<sup>i</sup> at Paris make mention of Gunpowder so early as the year 1338. And *Froissart* under the year 1340 records, that the Town of *Quesnoy* discharged their Cannon against the French who made their courses to the Gates of that city.

ALL this, when laid together, seems to furnish out a very strong proof that the *Chinese* had never seen Cannon till after this visit of Sir *John Mandevil* : which agrees well with a known fact ; That, about two Centuries ago, the *Chinese*, in their wars with the *Tartars*, were forced to take in the assistance of the *Europeans* to manage their Artillery.

<sup>h</sup> In Gloss. v. BOMBARDA.

<sup>i</sup> One article of which stands thus — à Henri de Faumechon pour avoir poudres, & autres choses nécessaires aux Canons qui estoient devant Puy-Guillaume.

BUT this fable of the antient use of Cannon in *Cbina* is not to be charged on the Missionaries, but on the *Chinese* themselves, the proudest and vainest People upon earth; arrogating to themselves the invention and improvement of every kind of Art and Science. They boasted, in the same manner, of the antiquity and perfection of their Astronomy and Mathematics. But here their performances soon betrayed the folly and impudence of their pretences. It was not so easy to detect them in the subject in question. The Missionaries, on their arrival, saw Cannon, which doubtless had lain there for two or three ages. And of these, the *Chinese* were at liberty to fable what they pleased. But it appears plain enough, they were indebted for them to their commerce with the *Mahometans* (the only People on the Western Side of India, with whom they had then any commerce) some time between the voyage of *Mandevil* and the arrival of the Missionaries: very likely, soon after their invention in *Europe*; for *Peter Mexia* speaks of the *Moors* as having the use of Cannon about the year 1343. A probability very much supported by the  
con-

confession of the *Cbinese* themselves, in a modester humour, That though they had Cannon from the most early times of their Empire, yet, till the *Tartar* war, spoken of above, they were totally unacquainted with the management of Artillery.

LET this suffice, in answer to this wild Objection, or Suspicion rather; the wildest sure that ever Infidelity advanced to elude the force of sober evidence. An Objection not only unsupported by Antiquity, but discredited by itself. Inventions which promote the health and happiness of our species, have been often, indeed, kept concealed; and when at last communicated, have soon passed again into oblivion. But the natural malignity of our nature would never suffer so destructive and pernicious an invention to remain long a secret; or, when it was once known, ever to be disused or forgotten. So that if this kind of artificial fire was an early discovery of the *Egyptian* Sages, it had a fortune which can never be accounted for on the common principles of human conduct.



## C H A P. VI.

VI. **T**HE last Objection, which is a little more plausible, is to be received with a great deal more ceremony and distinction; as coming from the great Intimados of NATURE, the Secretaries and Confidents of her intrigues. These Men tell us, "That the fire, which burst from the foundations of the *Temple*, was a mere *natural eruption*. The regions in and about the *Lesser Asia* were (they say) in all ages subject to Earthquakes, proceeding from subterraneous fires; and the present face of the Country about *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, shews, that the Land of *Judæa*, in particular, had its entrails full of these destructive principles. The fire from the Mountain of the *Temple* had, they say, all the marks of a *natural eruption*; the same circumstances attending it which attend all natural eruptions, and especially that at *Nicomedia*. Nor is the *time*, in which it happened, sufficient to oppose to this conclusion. For these *commotions of nature* being frequent in every age, it is no wonder they should sometimes fall in with those *moral* *disor-*

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*disorders*, occasioned by religious contests,  
which are as frequent ; or that, at such a  
juncture, frightened Superstition should catch  
at these accidents of terror to support a la-  
bouring cause. Hence it was (say they)  
that *Jupiter Ammon* was made to destroy  
the Army of *Cambyfes*, when sent to burn  
his Temple, and lay waste the Country of  
his Worshipers ; and *Apollo*, to fall upon  
the Army of *Brennus*, when he led it to  
plunder the Treasury at *Delphi*."

THIS is the Objection : and I have not  
scrupled my help to set it off. For, besides  
the distinction due to the character of the  
Objectors, I had other reasons why I would  
willingly have it seen in the best light.

SEVERAL of the circumstances attending  
the Event in question, and *some*, which  
have been generally held the most *miracu-*  
*lous*, I have myself delivered as the effects of  
*natural causes* ; induced thereto by the  
love of Truth, and a fond desire of recon-  
ciling the Fact itself, and the Christian *Fa-*  
*thers*, who relate it, to the more favour-  
able opinion of modern *Freetinkers*. It  
will be fit, therefore, I should explain and  
justify

justify my own conduct before I object to that of my Adversaries.

THE Agency of a superior Being on any portion of the visible Creation lying within the reach of our senses, whereby it acquires properties and directions different from what we hold it capable of receiving from the established Laws of matter and motion, we call a MIRACLE.

To ask, whether God's *immediate* Agency makes a necessary part of the definition ; or whether, to give a Miracle its name, it be sufficient that another Being, superior to Man, performed the operation, appears to me a very impertinent enquiry. Because there are but two sorts of Men who concern themselves about the matter ; Those who hold God's *moral government* ; and Those who allow only his *natural*.

THE first sort, the *Religionists*, must on their proper principles allow, that a work performed by superior agency, in confirmation of a Doctrine worthy of God, and remaining uncontrouled by a greater, can be no other than the attestation of Heaven, to which God hath set his hand  
and



and seal. Because the permitting an *evil Being* to perform these wonders, would be deceiving his Creatures, who know little or nothing of the World of Spirits. It would be drawing them unavoidably into an error, where they would be fixed; which is contrary to what the Religionist conceives of God's moral attributes, and, consequently, of his Government. As to the Sectators of *Naturalism*, the specific qualities of a Miracle never come within the range of their enquiries; for, holding only the *natural* government of God, they deny, of course, the very existence of every thing that implies a *moral* Regimen.

MIRACLES, then, we may be allowed to say, are of two sorts. Those where the Laws of Nature are *suspended* or *reversed* (such as the *budding of Aaron's rod*, and the *raising of Lazarus from the dead*.) And Those which only give a *new direction* to it's Laws (such as bringing *water from the rock*, and *stopping the issue of blood*.) For Miracles being an useful, not an ostentatious display of God's power, we cannot but conclude, He would employ the one or other sort indifferently, as best served the purpose of his interposition.

Now,

Now, as it would be *impious* to bring in NATURAL CAUSES to explain the *first* sort; so, totally to exclude those causes in the latter, would be *superstitious*; and both, infinitely *absurd*. Who, for instance, would venture to affirm that the prolifick virtue in the stock of *Aaron's rod* contributed to the blossoming of its branch? Or, on the other hand, that the water which came from the *Rock* at the command of *Moses*, was just then created to do honour to his Ministry? In this last case, what more would a rational Believer conclude, than that *God*, by making, at the instant, a fissure in the *Rock*, gave room for the water to burst out, which had been before lodged there by *nature*, as in its proper Reservoir? And the sober Critic, who proceeds in this manner, does no more than follow that method of *interpreting*, which God himself useth in *working* the Miracle; which is, to give to Nature all that Nature could easily perform.

WE are further encouraged in thus explaining the mode of God's interposition, by one of the most awful exertions of Divine Power, recorded in holy Writ. But pre-

vious to the story, the Reader should be reminded of what hath been observed of the order of the appearances both in the *natural* eruption at *Nicomedia*, and in that, we call, *miraculous*, at *Jerusalem*; where, in each case, the desolation began with winds and tempest; was continued by an *earthquake*; and concluded in a *fiery* eruption. The story is this, The Prophet *Elijah*, oppressed with the corruptions of the House of *Israel*, is commanded to wait God's Presence, and attend his Word. "And he said, "Go forth, and stand upon the Mount "before the Lord. And behold the Lord "passed by, and a great and strong WIND "rent the Mountains, and brake in pieces "the Rocks before the Lord; but the Lord "was not in the wind; and after the wind "an EARTHQUAKE; but the Lord was "not in the earthquake: And after the "earthquake a FIRE; but the Lord was "not in the fire: And after the fire a "SMALL STILL VOICE." His coming to shake terribly the earth is here we see, described, in all the pomp of incensed Majesty. Yet it is remarkable, that the Precursors of his Presence follow each other in

\* 1 Kings xix. 11, 12.



the same order of physical progression, in which Nature ranged the several Phenomena at *Nicomedia* and *Jerusalem*; the *Tempests*, the *Earthquake*, and the *Fire*: an Order, the sacred Historian plainly points out to us, where he says, that *God was not in any of these*; intimating, that they were pure physical appearances, the parade of Nature, thus far suffered to do its office without stop or impediment: but that *He was in the small still voice*, which closed this dreadful Procession; intimating, that these natural appearances were *ministerial* to the *interposition* of the Author and Lord of Nature.

LET us apply all this to our Argument; and consider, how a sober Believer, convinced by the force of evidence, would interpret the *Miracle in question*. He would, without doubt, conclude, that the mineral and metallic substances, (which, by their accidental fermentation, are wont to take fire and burst out in flames) were the native Contents of the place from which they issued; but that, in all likelihood, they would there have slept, and still continued in the quiet innoxious state in which they

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had

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had so long remained, had not the *breath*  
of the Lord awoke and kindled them.

BUT when the Divine Power had thus  
*miraculously* interposed to *stir up* the rage of  
these firey Elements, and yet to *restrain*  
their fury to the objects of his Vengeance,  
he then again suffered them to do their or-  
dinary office : because *Nature* thus directed  
would, by the exertion of its own Laws, an-  
swer all the ends of the *moral designation*.

THE consequence of which would be,  
that its effects, whether *destructive* or only  
*terrific*, would be the same with those at-  
tending mere natural eruptions.

So far, indeed, one cannot but suspect,  
That the *specific* qualities in the fermented  
elements, which occasioned the *frightful*  
*appearances*, though they were natural to en-  
flamed matter under certain circumstances,  
were yet, by the peculiar pleasure of Pro-  
vidence, *given* on this occasion; and not  
left merely to the conjunction of mechanic  
causes, or the fortuitous concurrence of mat-  
ter and motion, to *produce*. And my rea-  
son is, because these *frightful* appearances,  
namely the *Cross* in the *Heavens*, and on  
the

*the Garments*, were admirably fitted, as MORAL EMBLEMS, to proclaim the triumph of *Christ* over *Julian*. For the Apostate having, in a public and contemptuous manner, taken the *Monogramme* and *Cross* out of the military Ensigns°, which *Constantine* had put there, in memory of the aerial vision that presaged his victories; the same kind of triumphant Cross was again erected in the Heavens, to confound the vanity of that impotent bravade: And having forbidden the followers of *Jesus*, by public edict, to use the very *name* of Christians; a *stigmatic Cross* was now imprinted upon the Garments of those who were seconding his impieties, or were witnesses to the defeat of his attempt.

AND, in these shining marks of vengeance, there was nothing low, fantastical, or superstitious. The impress was great and solemn, and corresponded to the dignity of the occasion.

ANOTHER *Use* of these *terrific appearances* (now first beginning to manifest itself, as in many other circumstances of religious Dispensation, produced in one age for the

° Greg. Naz. Or. iii. Sozom. l. v. c. 17.



service of another, most remote) will further confirm our opinion of their *final cause*. The *use*, I mean, is their supporting the Testimony of the *Fathers*. The *Crosses on the Garments*, to the Men of that time, not apprized of their being *metéoric* marks, must appear a very incredulous circumstance: On which, too, (whatever the nature of the *Crosses* was) the Evidence of the divine Interposition was seen not to depend. Yet the *Fathers*, with the utmost confidence, and most perfect agreement, relate this circumstance at large; dwell more upon it, and glory more in it, than on all the rest. Hence I infer, that nothing but the notoriety of the Fact induced them to load the miracle with a circumstance, which, they could not but see, was so far from adding credit to the evidence, that it would render the whole transaction suspicious.

THUS much concerning these *two sorts of Miracles*, and the different manner of treating them. But it is to be observed, There is a yet a *third*, compounded of the other *two*, where the Laws of Nature are in part *arrested* and *suspended*; and, in part only, *differently directed*. Of this kind was the

the punishment of the old World by a *Deluge* of waters. Now, if, to such as these, we should apply the way of interpretation proper to the *second* sort, where only a new direction is given to the Laws of Nature; the absurdities, arising from this abusive application, would go near to disgrace the method itself: as That Divine hath helped to shew us, who ingeniously contrived to bring on the Deluge of waters by the aid of an approaching *Comet*, but was never after, by any physical address, able to draw it off again. And such disgraces are hardly to be avoided: for, in the *second* and simpler kind, the physical interpretation hath *Experience* to support it: whereas in the *third* and more complicated, the Artist must be content with an *Hypothesis*.

THIS was proper to be said before we came to try the force of the Objection.

1. It begins with observing, "That the regions in and about the *Lesser Asia* were, in all ages, subject to Earthquakes, caused by subterraneous fires; and that *Judaea* in particular had its entrails full of these destructive principles; as appears even from

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the present face of the country about *Sodom*  
and *Gomorrhah*."

If this account be true, as I believe it is, then *Judaea* was a proper Theatre (as occasion required) for this *specific* display of the divine vengeance. And we see why *fire* was the scourge employed: As *water* doubtless would have been, were the region of *Judaea* naturally subject to Inundations. For Miracles not being an ostentatious but a necessary Instrument of God's moral Government, we cannot conceive it probable that he would *create* the Elements for this purpose; but *use* those which lay ready stored up against the *day of visitation*. By this means, his *wisdom* would appear as conspicuous as his *power*, when it should be seen, that the Provisions lay'd in, at the formation of the World, for the use and solace of his Creatures while they continued in obedience, could, at his word, be turned into scourges when they became faithless and rebellious. The force of this reasoning is so obvious, that, had Providence been pleased to use the contrary method, Unbelievers, I am persuaded, would have made that very method an objection to the credibility of the  
Fact,



Fact. However, though it seemeth most agreeable to what we conceive of divine Wisdom, that it should often use the instrumentality of Nature in its miraculous interpositions, yet, let it be observed, the same Wisdom always provides, that the *Author of Nature* be not lost or obscured under the glare and noise of his *Instruments*.

It is said, The Region of *Judæa* was, from the quality of its Contents, much subject to Earthquakes and fiery Eruptions. If so, How happened it, that, from the most early times to the period in question, there never was any unusual disorder in its entrails (if you except an Earthquake which *Josephus* mentions as happening in the time of *Herod*) but at the overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; at the destruction of *Korah* and his company; in the days of *Uzziah*<sup>a</sup>; at the *Crucifixion*; and on this attempt of *Julian*? How happened it, that this destructive Element lay quiet in the midst of so much fuel, and for so many Ages; and only then, and at those critical junctures, shewed itself, when God had a contest with his Enemies? Can any reasonable account be given of such a Disposition but this, That, whenever God decrees to

<sup>a</sup> See Amos i. 1. and Zech. xiv. 5.

punish,

punish, it is his purpose, the divine Agency should be fully manifested? To pretend, they were all natural events, and the several coincidences merely casual, is supposing something vastly more incredible than what Unbelievers would persuade us is implied in the notion of a *Miracle*.

2. BUT it is said, "This eruption from the foundations of the Temple had all the *marks* of a natural event, being attended with the same circumstances which, *Am. Marcellinus* tells us, accompanied the Earthquake at *Nicomedia*."

It is very certain, the eruption from the foundations of the Temple had all these *marks*; and if our explanation of the *Miracle*, as it seems the most *rational*, be indeed the *true*, it could not but have them. When God had kindled the fiery matter in this storehouse of his wrath, all the effects that succeeded, must needs be the same with those which attend the explosion of any other subterraneous fire. What would follow, had they not been the same, but rejection of the whole story? which in Times so squeamish as ours, and so difficult of credit, would have passed for a Fairy-tale. This consideration induced me to shew, at  
large,

large, the exact conformity, throughout the process of the event, between the visitation at *Jerusalem* and the disaster at *Nicomedia*. Not but I foresaw the Consequence. It is the least of an Unbeliever's care to reconcile his objections to one another. I knew his first cavil to the credit of the Fact would be the *wonderful* attending the eruption. I therefore provided against it, by shewing this fact to be similar in its main circumstances to the best attested relations of natural events. But I knew too, that, in case of a defeat here, he would not be ashamed to point his cavil the other way, and turn this very *resemblance* to an argument against a supernatural interposition.--- What pity is it that *Ammianus*, who best knew the full extent of this *resemblance*, was not more quick-sighted? He too was an enemy of the Christian name (indeed, to do him justice, more fair and candid than any I know of the same denomination amongst ourselves) but so little sensible of its force, and so much confounded with the event, That, instead of telling the affair at large, which fell in so exactly with his detailed account of the disaster at *Nicomedia*, he hurries it over with the rapidity of one  
of



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of the frightened Workmen, who had just  
escaped the common desolation.

AFTER all, a general *resemblance* in the  
*effects* is allowed. What we insist on is  
the *difference* in their *cause* or original. And  
this difference is supported even by the very  
nature of things from whence that general  
resemblance arose.

*Nicomedia*, a City of *Bitbynia*, was  
placed on an eminence, at the bottom of a  
Gulph of that name, in the *Propontis*. Now  
Mountains thus situated, into whose cavern-  
ous entrails the Sea may find its way, must,  
if other natural causes favour, be, some-  
times, subject to fiery eruptions; of which  
we need no other example than the Moun-  
tain *Vesuvius*. But the Temple-hill at *Je-  
rusalem* was neither large nor cavernous;  
nor was it in the neighbourhood of the Sea;  
circumstances, which, all the world over,  
are wont to produce this effect. Neither  
were any *new openings* made, at this time,  
into the bowels of the mountain; which,  
by letting in *air* or *water*, might be sup-  
posed to ferment and inflame their combus-  
tible contents. The Historians who re-  
late this *attempt* inform us, that even some  
parts

parts of the old foundations were left standing to erect the new edifice upon; and in others, where the old works were little better than a heap of rubbish, or at least judged too infirm, that incumbrance only was removed. This appears from the relations of *Socrates* and *Sozomene* compared with one another. *Socrates* assures us<sup>p</sup>, that the earthquake threw out stones from the old foundations: which he mentions to shew the *literal* accomplishment of the prophecy of *Jesus*, that there *should not be left one stone upon another*. *Sozomene* indeed affirms<sup>q</sup>, that the foundations were cleared; but then he goes on and says, the earthquake threw out stones. Now, as no new foundations were ever laid, he must mean with *Socrates*, the stones of the old. And thus the seeming difference in their accounts will be reconciled. Let me add, that more than once before, and at distant times, they had dug deep into this Hill, to lay the foundations of *Solomon's* and *Herod's* Temples: and then every thing continued quiet. Yet, now, when no new openings were made, the effort to build a *third* was followed by a firey eruption.

<sup>p</sup> L. iii. c. 20.<sup>q</sup> L. v. c. 22.

AGAIN, In natural ferments of this kind, the commotion is generally very *extensive*, and runs through large tracts of Country. Thus the Earthquake mentioned by *Josephus*, shook the whole land of *Judæa*; and the disaster at *Nicomedia*, as *Marcellinus* informs us, was occasioned by a tremor which went over *Macedonia*, *Asia*, and *Pontus*; and did infinite mischief throughout its course. The same Historian tells us of another which shook the whole Globe of the Earth; and is described by *Jerom* in these words, "Ea tempestate terræ motu totius orbis qui post Juliani mortem accidit maria egressa sunt terminos suos, &c." On the contrary, the Eruption at *Jerusalem* was confined to the very spot on which the Temple had stood; and continued only to deny access to such who, not taking warning by those whom it had destroyed, would still persevere in their impiety. A

† *Iisdem diebus terræmotus horrendi per Macedoniam, Asiamque, & Pontum assiduis pulsibus oppida multa concusserunt & montes. Inter monumenta tamen multiformium ærumnarum eminere Nicomediæ clades, &c. Marcel. l. xvii. c. 7.*

• L. xxvi. c. 10.

† Vit. Hilar.

• — fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum. L. xxiii. c. 1.



circumstance very different from common Earthquakes and firey Eruptions; and of which we have no examples, save in the Eruption that destroyed *Korab* and his company; and in the Earthquake at the Crucifixion of our Lord; and perhaps in that in the days of *Uzziab*; all of them supernatural events.

THIRDLY, in natural eruptions the fire continues burning till the fuel which supplies it be consumed. But the Witnesses to *this* assign a very different period to its fury. It continued just as long as the Builders persisted in their attempt, and no longer. At every new effort to proceed, the rising fire drove them back; but at the instant they gave out, it totally subsided. This so terrified *Julian*, that *Cbrysoftome* tells us\*, he relinquished the enterprize for fear the fire should turn upon his own head. And this made *Marcellinus* say,—"elemento DESTI-  
"NATIUS repellente"---an expression of great elegance to imply the direction of an intelligent Agent.

\* ταῦτα αἰέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουλιανὸς καίτοι πσαύ-  
τῳ μανίαν ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἀσπρὴν ἐκείνην, δέσας μὴ πε-  
ρατέρω προελθῶν, ὅπῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν καλέσῃ τὸ πῦρ,  
ἀπίστη ἡττηθεὶς μετὰ τῷ ἔθνει παντὶ. Adver. Judæos,  
Orat. ii.

3. IN the last place we are told, "That even so critical a juncture is not to be accounted of: for that *religious squabbles* and *natural prodigies* are equally common; and Church-Artists never wanting to fit them to one another. Hence, they say, are derived those two notable Judgments of *Jupiter Ammon* and *Apollo*, upon the Armies of *Cambyfes* and *Brennus*."

THE observation is plausible. It pleases the Imagination: and wants nothing but Truth to reconcile it to the Judgment.

IN Miracles performed by the *ministry* of God's Messengers, where the Laws of Nature are *suspended* or *reversed*, it is sufficient if he who works them, shall, at any time, declare their Purpose and Intention. But, in a Miracle performed by the *immediate power* of God, without the intervention of his servants, in which only a *new direction* is given to the Laws of Nature, one of these two conditions is required to give it credit: Either that an inspired Servant of God predicted it, and declared its purpose beforehand, as *Samuel* did the *storm of thunder and rain*, the declaration  
of

of God's displeasure, for the people's demand of a King: Or that it be seen to interpose so seasonably and critically as to cover and secure God's moral Government from inevitable dishonour, as in the case before us. Without one or other of these conditions, Superstition would break loose at once, and soon over-run the World: for Bigotry (always in close conjunction with our natural malignity) would convert every unusual appearance of natural evil into a Prodigy, and a Punishment: But why do I say it *would*? It hath in fact done so: and every Age and Religion hath abounded with these spurious Judgments, by which human Charity and God's moral Government hath been incessantly violated and dishonoured. And yet an ordinary attention to the obvious and rational conditions here pointed out, would have prevented this mischief: for I know but of one instance in all Antiquity which could embarrass the decision: and that is, --- not the expedition of *Cambyses*; for it would have been a greater wonder that an Army should get safe through the sands of those Deserts, that that it perished in them. The case I mean is the destruction of *Brennus's* Army before *Delphi*.



*phi.* Here, neither of the conditions seemed wanting. The Priests of *Apollo*, we are told, *predicted* the approaching desolation: and the *cause* (which was the punishment of impiety and irreligion) appeared not altogether unworthy the Divine interposition. These, together with the faith due to the best human testimony, which strangely concurred to support the Fact, were, I presume, the reasons that inclined the excellent Dean *Prideaux* to esteem the accident *miraculous*; not so weakly as hath been represented by some; nor yet with that maturity of judgment, which one would expect from so great a master of ancient History. His words are these--- "*Brennus*  
" marched on with the gross of his army  
" towards *Delphos* to plunder the temple---  
" But he there met a wonderful defeat.  
" For on his approaching the place, there  
" happened a terrible storm of thunder,  
" lightening, and hail, which destroyed  
" great numbers of his men, and, at the  
" same time, there was as terrible an earthquake, which rending the mountains in  
" pieces, threw down whole rocks upon  
" them, which overwhelmed them by  
" hundreds at a time. --- Thus was God  
" pleased,

“pleased, in a very extraordinary manner,  
 “to execute his vengeance upon those sa-  
 “cilegious wretches for the sake of religion  
 “in general, how false and idolatrous so-  
 “ever that religion was, for which that  
 “Temple at *Delphos* was erected.” The  
 learned Historian, we see, takes it for grant-  
 ed, and he is not mistaken, that *Brennus*  
 and his *Gauls* acknowledged the Divinity of  
*Apollo*. *Julius Cæsar* informs us, that the  
*Gauls* had very near the same sentiments of  
 the greater Deities (as they were called)  
 with the *Greeks* and *Romans*\*, and the rest  
 of the politer pagan nations. And, distinct  
 from his authority, we know, that their  
 principle of *intercommunity* made their na-  
 tional Gods free of all countries. *Brennus*,  
 therefore, was a Sacrilege in form. But  
 notwithstanding this, there are many strong  
 objections to the Dean’s notion concerning  
 the *quality* of the disaster.

THIS sacred Place, the Repository of  
 immense riches, had, at other times, been  
 attempted with impunity; nay with suc-

\* Connect. Vol. II. p. 20, 21. Fol. Ed.

—Post hunc [Mercurium] *Apollinem*, Martem &  
 Jovem & Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam re-  
 liquæ gentes, habent opinionem. *De Bel. Gal.* L. vi.

success; for it had been so often plundered, that, when Strabo wrote, the Temple was become exceeding poor<sup>a</sup>. And if, amongst these several insults, there were any more worthy the divine interposition, *for the sake of Religion in general*, than the rest, it was when the *Phocenses*, the natural and civil Protectors of the Temple, plundered it of all its wealth, to raise an army of mercenary soldiers. And yet, at that time, the offended Deity gave no marks of his displeasure. Now to suppose, when several attempts of this kind had succeeded, That the failure of one, though attended with some uncommon circumstances, was a divine interposition, is going very far in favour of an Hypothesis. If it should be said, that the God of *Israel* suffered his own Temple to be several times prophaned (which *Julian* himself takes care to remember<sup>b</sup>) and yet at last vindicated the glory of his name; I reply, there was this essential difference in the case, That whenever the Temple of the *Jews* was violated,

<sup>a</sup> *νῦν γέ τοι πτωχολόν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν.*  
Lib. ix.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 75.



the evil was foretold as due to their crimes, and the people made acquainted with the impending punishment: and that now, when its sanctity was insulted by a Gentile's attempt to restore its honours, it was in defiance of a Prophecy which had doomed it to a final desolation.

THERE is yet a stronger objection to the learned Dean's solution; which is, that had the defeat been miraculous, the interposition would have lost its end. For it could never have been deemed as effectuated to *vindicate Religion in general*; but as done *for the sake of their false Gods only*; the story informing us, that the *Priests* of the Temple denounced the coming Vengeance; and ascribed it to the Wrath and Power of Apollo and his two Sisters. So, that this

• In hoc partium certamine repente universorum templorum Antistites, simul & ipsæ vates, sparsis crinibus, cum insignibus atque infulis, pavidi vecordesque in primam pugnantium aciem procurrunt: Advenisse Deum clamant; eumque se vidisse defilientem in Templum — Juvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis, comitesque ei duas armatas virgines ex propinquis duabus *Dianæ Minervæque* ædibus occurrisse; nec oculis tantum hæc se perpexisse; audisse etiam stridorem Arcus ac strepitum Astorum. — *Juss. lib. xxiv. c. 8.*

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intervention would have been the means of  
fixing Idolatry, and rivetting down Poly-  
theism upon the Gentile world.

BUT what is still more, The circum-  
stances of the times did not at all favour  
a miracle for the purpose assigned, namely  
*for the sake of religion in general, against  
impiety.* The Popular folly, in the Pagan  
world, ran all the other way. It was not  
*irreligion*, but *superstition*, that then infected  
Mankind. They had no need of a real  
Miracle to remind them of the superinten-  
dency of Providence; they were but too  
apt to ascribe every unusual appearance of  
nature to moral agency. So that had Hea-  
ven *now* thought fit to interfere; we can-  
not but conclude, it had been rather in *dis-  
credit of idolatry in particular*, than in *be-  
half of religion in general.*—There is hard-  
ly any need to observe, that the reasons,  
which make against God's own interventi-  
on, hold equally against his permitting evil  
Spirits to co-operate with the delusions of  
their Priests.

HAVING, therefore, excluded all supe-  
rior agency from this affair; it will be in-  
cumbent on us to shew, by what human  
contri-

contrivance it might have been effected. For, it must be owned, its arrival at so critical a juncture will not easily suffer us to suppose it a mere *natural* event.

THE inclination of a Pagan Priest to assist his God in extremity will hardly be called in question. We see, by the round story of *those* at *Delphi*, that they were not embarrassed by vulgar scruples. They told their Townsmen, they saw the God, at his first alighting, in the person of a young man of exquisite beauty, and his two Virgin associates, *Diana* and *Minerva*, with each her proper arms of Bow and Spear: But they did not expect the People should trust to their *eye-sight* only; they assured them, they *heard*, besides, the clangor of their Arms.

So much for a good disposition: which was not ill seconded by their public management and address. On the first rumour of *Brennus's* march against them, they issued out Orders as from the Oracle, to all the region round, forbidding the country People to secrete or bear away their wine and provisions. The effects of this order succeeded to their expectation. The half-starved Barbarians finding, on their ar-



rival in *Phocis*, so great a plenty of all things, made short marches, dispersed themselves over the country, and revelled in the abundance that was provided for them. This respite gave time to the Friends and Allies of the God to come to his assistance: so that by such time as *Brennus* was sat down at the foot of the Rocks, there was a numerous Garrison within to dispute his ascent<sup>d</sup>.

THEIR advantages of situation likewise supported the measures they had taken for a vigorous defence. The Town and Temple of *Delphi* was seated on a bare and cavernous rock; defended, on all sides, with precipices, instead of walls. The large Recess within assumed the form of a Theatre: so that the shouts of Soldiers, and the sounds of military Instruments, re-echoing from rock to rock, and from cavern to cavern,

<sup>d</sup> Gallorum vulgus, ex longâ inopiâ, ubi primum vino cæterisque com meatibus referta rura invenit, non minus abundantia quàm victoriâ lætum, per agros se sparserat; desertisque signis, ad occupanda omnia pro victoribus vagabantur. Quæ res dilationem Delphis edidit. Prima namque opinione adventûs Gallorum prohibiti agrestes oraculis, feruntur messes, vinaque villis

in-

increased the clamour to an immense degree. Which, as the Historian observes, could not but have great effects on ignorant and barbarous minds\*.

THE playing off these Panic terrors was not indeed sufficient of itself to repulse and dissipate a Host of fierce and hungry Invaders; but it enabled the Defenders of the place to keep them at bay, till a more solid entertainment was provided for them. I mean the *Explosion*, and fall of that portion of the Rock, at the foot of which the greater part of the Army lay encamped.

efferre. — Salutare præceptum — velut morâ Gallis objectâ auxilia finitimorum convenere. Justin. lib. xxiv. c. 7.

\* — Templum & Civitatem non muri, sed præcipitia; non manu facta, sed naturalia præsidia defendunt; prorsus ut incertum sit, utrum munimentum loci, an Majestas Dei plus hic admirationis habeat. Media saxi rupes in formam Theatri recessit. Quamobrem & hominum clamor, et si quando accedit tubarum sonus, personantibus & respondentibus inter se rupibus, multiplex audiri, ampliorque quàm editur, resonare solet. Quæ res majorem Majestatis terrorem ignaris rei, & admirationem stupentibus plerumque affert. Just. l. xxiv. c. 6.

FOR, the Town and Temple, as we observed, were seated on a bare and hollow Rock; which would here and there afford vent-holes for such fumes as generated within, to transpire. One of these, from an intoxicating quality, discovered in the steam which issued at it, was rendered very famous, by being fitted to the Recipient of the Priestess of *Apollo*<sup>f</sup>. Now if we only suppose this, or any other of the vapours, emitted from the fissures, in so large and cavernous a rock, to be endowed with that unctuous or otherwise inflammatory quality which modern experience shews us to be common in mines and subterraneous places, we can easily conceive how the Priests of

<sup>f</sup> Ἦκετα δ' ἡ, ὡς ἄνδρες ποιμαίνοντες, θηλήχαιεν τῷ μαντείῳ, καὶ ἐνθεοὶ τε ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τῇ αἰμῇ, καὶ ἐμανίδασαιτο ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος. Pausan. Phoc. c. v.— Φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, ἀντρον κοῖλον καὶ βάθος, καὶ μάλα διρύσομιν· ἀναφέρειται δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνέυμα ἐνθεσιαστικόν. Strabo Geogr. l. ix. — In hoc rupis anfractu, media ferme montis altitudine, planities exigua est, atque in ea profundum terræ foramen, quod in Oracula patet: ex quo frigidus spiritus, vi quadam velut vento in sublime expulsus, mentes Vatum in recordiam vertit, impletasque Deo, responsa consulentibus dare cogit. Just. lib. xxiv. c. 6.

the



the Temple might, without a Miracle, be able to work the wonders which History speaks of as effected in this transaction. For the throwing down a lighted torch or two into a chasm, from whence such a vapour issued, would set the whole into a flame; which, by rarifying and dilating the inclosed air, would, like fired Gunpowder, blow up all before it. These effects are so known and dreaded in Coal-mines, subject to inflammatory vapours, that, in some of them, in the north of this Kingdom, instead of lamps or candles, which would be fatal, the workmen are obliged to have recourse to a very extraordinary contrivance to give them light, which is the application of a flint to a steel Cylinder in motion. And we cannot suppose the Priests, the Guardians of the Rock, could be long ignorant of such a quality; which, either chance or designed experiments might bring to their acquaintance: Or that they would divulge it when they had discovered it. I am even inclined to think, they had the art of managing this quality at pleasure; so as to produce a greater or less effect, as their occasions required. It is certain,

*Strabo*

*Strabo* relates<sup>2</sup>, that one *Onomarchus* with his Companions, as they were attempting by night to dig their way through to rob the holy Treasury, were frightened from their work by the violent shaking of the Rock: and he adds, that the same Phenomenon had defeated many other attempts of the like nature. Now whether the tapers which *Onomarchus* and his companions were obliged to use while they were at work, inflamed the Vapour, or whether the Priests of *Apollo* heard them at it, and set fire to a countermine, it is certain, a quality of this kind would always stand them in stead.

SUCH, then, I presume, was the expedient they employed to dislodge this Nest of Hornets, which had settled at the foot of their sacred Rock.

IT is further remarkable that this explosion was followed (as it was likely it should) by an event of as much terror and affright, a storm of thunder, lightening, and hail;

<sup>2</sup> τὰς περὶ τὸν Ὀνόμαρχον ἐπιχειρήσαντας ἀνασκάπτειν τὸν ὄψωρ ζισμῶν θρομβῶν μεγάλων, ἔξω δὲ τοῦ πέτρης αἰὲρ παύσατο τὴν ἀνασκαφὴν ἐμβαλὼν ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φόβον τὴν πιαύτης ἐπιχειρήσεως. *Strab. Geogr. lib. ix.*  
which,

which these violent concussions of the air physically generate. For Justin assures us <sup>h</sup>, the Tempest did not happen till *after* the fall of the Rock; though the *Dean*, we see, makes them operate *together*.

BUT what after all, if these Barbarians were something less unfortunate than the Priests of *Apollo* would have us think them; and had got a considerable booty before they fell into this disgrace? *Strabo* tells an odd story <sup>i</sup> of the *Roman General Cæpio's* finding a vast treasure at *Tolose*, supposed to be part of the riches which its Inhabitants, the *Tectosages*, had brought home from this very expedition against the *Delphic* God. It would almost make one suspect, that the Priests, before they came to extremities with the sacred Rock, had entered into treaty with these Barbarians, and paid

<sup>h</sup> *Insecuta deinde tempestas est, quæ grandine & frigore faucios ex vulneribus absumpsit. l. xxiv. c. 8.*

<sup>i</sup> — καὶ οὗτο Τεκτοσάγας ἡ Φασὶ μεταχρεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ Δελφῶς στρατίας, καὶ τὰς τε θησαυροὺς οὗτο δὶρεθέντας παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπὸ Καϊπίωνος ἡ στρατηγῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν πόλει Τολώσῃ, τῶν οὐκ εἶχον χρημάτων μέγεθος εἶναι Φασί· προσθεῖναι δὲ οὗτο ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκῶν ἀνιερῆναι καὶ ἐξιλασκομένους τῷ θεῷ. L. iv.

them



them a large tribute to decamp and quit the Country; which possibly they might receive with the same good faith that their Countrymen, in a like expedition, weighed out the *Roman gold*, before the Capitol; and so necessitate the *Delphians* to send down the Rock upon them to clear accounts; just as, in the other instance, *Camillus* revenged their extortion in *Italy*. What seems to strengthen our conjecture is, that the *Tectosages*, in order to appease the offended Deity, had consecrated this treasure to holy uses, with an addition of their own. Nor does it take from the credit of the story, that all which the penetrating *Strabo* hath to oppose, is the ill success of *Brennus* and his followers, as we find it related in the common histories of the expedition. If this were the case, the pretended Miracle shrinks into a very slender kind of Prodigy.

HOWEVER, the account given above seems, on the whole, to be the true solution of this extraordinary event. It is easy and natural; and the cause fully equal to the effect. But my chief reason for being so explicit, was, to add still further support to

to our general conclusion; as the detail would shew, that all the main circumstances in the destruction at *Delphi*, and in that at *Jerusalem*, were essentially different.

THE *Rock* on which *Delphi* stood, was exactly fitted for such a contrivance: The *Mountain* at *Jerusalem*, by its compactness and continuity, altogether improper. The easy object of *Apollo's* resentment was a rabble of half-starved and half-intoxicated Barbarians: The object of the resentment of the God of *Israel* was a select number of the politest, joined to the craftiest People upon Earth, detached to support a project, which the ablest artists of all kinds were assembled to put in execution. The *Priests* of *Apollo* were masters of the Town and Temple, and supported by a powerful Garrison: Both the *Priests* and *People* of the God of *Israel* were dispersed, and had left the place free and open to their enemies.

BUT the principal difference lay in the grounds and reasons of the thing. By which I do not mean, that one event was supposed to be the agency of a God of the *Greeks*, and the other of the God of the *Jews*

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*Jews*: For, who was the *true*, and who the *false* God, the Gentlemen, with whom we are concerned, seem willing should remain undetermined. The difference lay in this, That the interposition of the *Delphic God* was to save the treasures of his Priests; which he had, at other times, and on more flagitious terms, suffered to be violated. But the interposition of the *Lord of Hosts* was to save the honour of his name, which he hath never since suffered to be impeached by malice or impiety, throughout a course of fourteen hundred years. Or, in other words, to defend the general system of Revelation from being forcibly borne down by the whole power of the *Roman Empire*. For the attempt to re-establish the *Jewish Worship* was professedly and publicly to give the lye to the *Prophecies* on which Christianity was founded, that is, to the *God of Heaven* himself: the most important occasion we can conceive of exerting his power, as including in it a NECESSITY to exert it. But more of this, when I come, hereafter, to speak of the nature of that Evidence which demands the assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact.



HOWEVER, it may not be amiss at present, so far to forestall that Inquiry, as, by way of specimen, to say one word of a particular hitherto untouched, the *specific Nature* of this supernatural event. A circumstance which seems greatly to confirm and illustrate all that hath been said. I have observed, that the *end* or *purpose* of it was two-fold: 1. To *support* the Oeconomy of God's dispensation<sup>a</sup>. And, 2. To *punish* the impiety of those who attempted to disturb it<sup>b</sup>. As in order to evince the *first* end or purpose, I have shewn<sup>c</sup>, that the attempt aimed to falsify the Prophecy, which had foretold the final destruction of the Temple; so in order to evince the *second*, I shall now shew, that this disaster was the very specific Punishment, which, the Prophet *Isaiah* informs the *Jews*, was reserved and kept in store, to be the scourge for Impiety and Rebellion. This seems to be considerable, and of Moment. For where, as in the *extraordinary* Dispensations to this people, the specific Punishments, which, from time to time, were reserved, by God's decree, for their chastisement, had been marked out,

<sup>a</sup> See l. i. c. 1.<sup>b</sup> See p. 241—242.<sup>c</sup> See l. i. c. 3.

and

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and set before them; it is reasonable to expect, that when a supernatural Punishment was so inflicted, it would be by the agency of such a specific disaster as was foretold would be the attendant on the Crime. Now this, we say, was exactly the case in the affair before us. The Prophet describes the Punishment, reserved for the obstinacy and impiety of the Jewish People, in these words, *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with THUNDER, and with EARTHQUAKE, and great noise, with STORM AND TEMPEST, and the FLAME OF DEVOURING FIRE*<sup>d</sup>.

HERE we see the denunciation and execution are so wonderfully coincident, that one might be well excused in going a little further, and even supposing the words here quoted, to be a particular Prophecy of the disaster in question. And our Conjecture would receive further Countenance from this important circumstance, that the immediate preceeding verses are an undoubted Prophecy of the total destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. *Woe to Ariel, to Ariel the City where David dwelt--I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against*

<sup>d</sup> Isaiah, c. xxix. v 6.

*thee with a Mount, and will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust—yea, it shall be at an instant, suddenly<sup>e</sup>. However this be; so much, at least, is certain, That had a Writer described this disaster after the event, and copied from it, he could not have given a more exact and faithful picture of it than the Prophet *Isaiab* hath here done.*

BUT it is now time to turn to our *Mathematician*; and request him to prepare his Tables of Calculation; if for no other purpose than to gratify our curiosity in the *doctrine of Chances*. When he is ready, let us know, how many millions to one are the odds against a *natural eruption's* securing the honour of the Christian Religion, at that very important juncture when God's Omnipotence was thus openly defied; and not by this or that crack-brained Atheist, but by all the powers of the world combined against it. Let him add these other circumstances, that the Mountain of the Temple, was, both from its frame and situation, most unlikely to be the

<sup>e</sup> Ver. 3, 4, 5. confer this with Matt. xxiv. 17, 18.



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scene of a *physical eruption*: and that this eruption was confined, contrary to its usual nature, to that very spot of ground: and then see how these will increase the odds. But his task is but begun; he must reckon another circumstance, the Fire's obstinately breaking out by fits, as often as they attempted to proceed; and its total extinction on their giving up the enterprize: let him, I say, add this to the account, and see how it will then stand. To these, too, he must join the Phænomena of the Cross in the Air, and on the Garments; which will open a new career to his calculations. And further, to inflame the reckoning, he may take notice, that History speaks but of *one* other commotion confined to the intrails of this Hill, which likewise happened at a very critical juncture, the *Crucifixion* of our Lord, when the *vail of the Temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the Earth did quake, and the rocks rent*<sup>f</sup>. Lastly, he may reflect, if he pleases, that all these odds lie on the side of a divine Interposition to hinder an *attempt*, which a space of fourteen hundred years hath never seen revived; though

<sup>f</sup> Matt. c. xxvii. 51.

the project itself (the restoration of one of the most celebrated Temples in the world) is in its nature most alluring to superstition: and though the long imbecillities of Religion and Government, in the various Revolutions there undergone, have afforded ample opportunity to a rich and crafty People to effect what was the only means of wiping out their opprobrium, and redeeming them from universal Contempt. He must, I say, take in all this before he sums up the account. And then, if he be ingenuous, without doubt he will confess, that to compute the immensity of these odds will exceed all the powers of Number.

To speak freely, The attempt to account for it by a *natural cause* is a wretched evasion. Let us consider in how different a manner Unbelievers are wont to treat those parallel Miracles, *The bursting of water from the Rock at the command of Moses*; and, *of fire from the earth to punish the rebellion of Korah*. No man was ever so wild to charge these Facts to the account of *natural causes*. And yet, the sudden gushing out of water from a Rock is certainly a com-

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moner thing than a burning Mountain.  
But the reason of their reserve, in these instances, is plain; they had other causes at hand, besides natural events, to exclude a miracle; such as human artifice and contrivance; the uncertainty of very early History, &c. But, in the Eruption from the foundations of the Temple, the Fact was so well circumstanced, that an Objector found nothing else left to trade with but this last miserable shift: which, when all other means fail, is still at hand to keep back that Bugbear to Impiety, GOD'S MORAL GOVERNMENT, which Government, together with REVEALED RELIGION founded on it, are (to observe it by the way) as compleatly exhibited by *one* miraculous interposition, fully proved, as by *one hundred*.

IN support of all that hath been said, give me leave to observe, That the contemporary Evidence, who, from their more intimate knowledge of the Fact, must needs be allowed the best judges of its nature in general, give no intimation that they themselves thought, or that others suspected it

to



to be a *natural event*. *Julian*, indeed, to hide his confusion, insinuates \* something like it, but under cover of the destruction of the Temple at *Daphne*<sup>1</sup>; and otherwise, in so oblique and obscure a manner as shews him to be ashamed of so foolish a pretence. But then his honest and well-instructed Advocate, *Amm. Marcellinus*, is far from giving into this suspicion; the different manner in which he relates the two events at *Nicomedia* and *Jerusalem* evidently imply the contrary. In his account of the *former*, out of a pure parade of Science, he digresses, on the physical causes of *Earth-quakes*. In the *latter*, (would the fact have born him out) he had better reasons than an affectation to shew his learning, to tell us what the Philosophers had said most plausible, in favour of a natural event; for had that been the fact, the true *cause*, he knew, was universally mistaken; and Paganism was essentially concerned to have that mistake rectified. On the contrary, *Ammianus* hath contributed to support the general opi-

\* See p. 76, and 81.

<sup>1</sup> Which, it is not unlikely, was burnt by common lightening, though *Julian*, in his *Misopogan*, directly charges it on the Christians.

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nion, by expressions which evidently imply  
*superior agency*. Yet was this candid Hi-  
storian nothing shy in speaking his mind,  
when he conceived either fraud or supersti-  
tion had too large a share in common re-  
ports. For, mentioning the conflagration  
of *Apollo's* temple at *Daphne*, which the  
Christians boasted to be miraculously con-  
sumed by Lightning, he frankly declares it  
was suspected to have been set on fire by  
themselves<sup>1</sup>. But why should I insist on  
the conduct of so fair an Adversary as *Mar-*  
*cellinus*, when *Libanius*, and the rest of *Ju-*  
*lian's* Sophists, those bigots to Paganism,  
and inflamers of their master's Follies, dared  
not so much as mutter the least suspicion of  
this nature, tho' the first of them, as we have  
seen, hath mentioned this disaster in such a  
manner as shews he well understood the ne-  
cessity of throwing into shade, what he  
could give no good account of, if placed  
in a fair light. Nor was their silence the  
effect of fear, or want of good-will. In  
more dangerous and offensive matters they

<sup>1</sup> Suspicabatur id Christianos egisse stimulos invidia,  
quod idem Templum inviti videbant ambizioso circum-  
dari peristylis. L. xxii. c. 13.

spoke freely; and with insolence enough; For when the Christians every where gave out that the death of *Julian* was miraculous; These Friends of his, publicly maintained, that he was basely assassinated by a Christian Soldier; and undertook to make good the charge, at their own peril, if the Emperor would appoint Commissaries to examine into the Fact<sup>m</sup>. Lastly, the *Fathers*,

<sup>m</sup> See Libanius *ὁμιλίαι τῆς Ἰουλιανῆς τιμωρίας.* *Fabr. Bibl. Græc. Vol. vii.* and the oblique reflections of the noble Author of the *Characteristicks* upon it, *Vol. iii. Mis. ii. c. 3.*—But, by what I can gather from Antiquity, it seems to have been a frank calumny. *Eutropius*, who was in the action, and *Marcellinus*, who served there in the body-guards, seem, neither of them, to have entertained the least suspicion of this kind. Besides, *Julian* was wounded at that very instant, when the darts of the Persians were known to do most execution; that is to say, in one of their *dissembled flights*; and when his own Guards forewarned him of the danger, in pressing upon their rear — “*Clamabant hinc inde Candidati (says “ Ammianus) ut fugientium molem tamquam ruinam “ malè compositi culminis declinaret: et incertum su- “ bita equestris hasta cute brachii ejus præstricta, costis “ perfossis hæsit in ima jecoris fibra.” Lib. xxv. c. iii.* But what shall we say to the Emperor’s own testimony; who, in his dying harangue, returns thanks to God for not suffering him to fall by *secret conspiracy*?—



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and *Church Historians*, who are so large in  
establishing the credit of God's interposi-  
tion at *Jerusalem*, afford us not the least hint

“ Ideoq; sempiternum veneror numen quod non clan-  
“ destinis insidiis, nec longa morborum asperitate, vel  
“ damnatorum sine decedo : sed in medio cursu floren-  
“ tium gloriarum hunc merui *clarum* e mundo *digressum*.”

*Id. ib.* And this testimony will be seen to have the  
more weight, if we consider, that Julian having (as in  
this place he tells us) consulted the Oracle about his fate,  
was answered, that he should *fall by the Sword*—“ interi-  
“ turum me ferro dudum didici fide fatidica præcinente.”

*Id. ib.* The ambiguity of which answer would natural-  
ly make him as vigilant against his personal Enemies, as  
against the Enemies of the State. So that when he calls  
his death *clarum digressum*, we may take his word for it,  
that he knew it to be by the darts of the Persians.

Yet Libanius, we see, brings a formal charge against  
the Christians, of a pretended Assassinate ; and offered  
himself as the Prosecutor, to make it good. What Evi-  
dence he had in reserve is hard to say : But, in his *Ora-  
tion to revenge the death* of his Master, having related,  
that *Sapor*, willing to recompense the hand which had  
worked his deliverance, had published a reward which  
nobody came in to receive, and from thence had con-  
cluded, that Julian must have fallen by one of his own  
Soldiers ; Libanius, I say, calls this the strongest proof  
of all, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων. And it was no wonder  
he rated it so high : for when he composed his *funeral O-  
ration on the death of Julian*, he was so unfurnished on  
this head, that he takes it for granted his Master was  
that

that their Adversaries ever thought of evading it by the pretence of a *natural event*.

slain by a *Persian horseman*, ὑπ' Ἀχαιμενίδου τινὸς κατενήχθαι. — At that time, he seemed to think with Eutropius, Marcellinus, and every other reasonable man, that the circumstance of the reward's being unclaimed, was so far from being extraordinary, that it was not to be expected a particular stroke should be distinguished amidst a general flight of darts and arrows. But, you will say, he was better informed when he wrote the *Oration to revenge his death*. Let it be so. It is certain, however, he does no honour to his Information; neither in the matter, nor in the composition of that piece; it being indeed one of the meanest and most disingenuous discourses of all antiquity: and, in every respect so pitiful, that, had the reasoning and rhetoric belonged to a *Father*, our Anti-ecclesiastics could not have desired a better fund for their mirth and raillery.

On the whole, this Calumny seems to have had its birth from a Stratagem of Sapor to throw the Roman Army into divisions and confusion, when, on the death of Julian, he found it was not like to become so easy a prey to him, as he expected. It is probable he published the reward, spoken of above, without affectation or design: but no one coming to lay in his claim, he found a good use might be made of it; and so gave out, That Julian must needs be slain by a Roman Soldier, since, after the most diligent search amongst his own troops, there was no one that pretended to the merit

## CONCLUSION.

**W**E shall conclude with a short recapitulation of the whole Argument.

**FIRST**, it hath been shewn, That the *occasion* was most important; and that the

of his death. That this report might make its due impression, he ordered the Persians (who were then harassing the Romans) whenever they came up within hearing of the Enemy, to reproach them with the murder of their master: It was in prosecution of the same scheme, that when the Ambassadors, whom Jovian sent to treat of peace, came to their Audience, The first question he asked them was, Whether Julian's death had been yet revenged. But why so much solicitude in a matter he had no concern in; and so much resentment of an action he had reaped such advantages from, if he did not expect, by this affected generosity, to reap greater? Every man of sense in the army, treated this Artifice as it deserved: and hence, without doubt, the neglect shewn to it by Eutropius and Marcellinus. Nor is this a Stratagem unusual in war. Our Henry V. employed it with success after the Battle of Azincourt, to appease the Duke of Burgundy, when he sent the King his gantlet by a Herald (the declaration of war in those times) to revenge the Death of his two Brothers, who fell in that action fighting on the side of Charles VI. For, unwilling to bring down upon himself so powerful an Enemy, but principally desirous of inflaming the distracted Councils of France, he took advantage of the quarrels between the houses of Bur-

credit



credit and honour of Revelation required God's interposition at this juncture.

THAT *Julian* aggravated the impiety of his attempt, by all the insulting circumstances most likely to bring upon him the vengeance of Heaven.

THAT the *Event* is established by all the power of human Testimony: That the Church hath borne witness to it by a full, consistent, and contemporary Evidence.

gundy and Orleans, to assure the Herald that the Duke's Brothers were not killed by the English Troops, but by those of their own party, in the faction of Orleans: of which he said, he would produce evidence, and make good his allegation to the full. But he performed his word just as Sapor did his, of the assassinate of Julian: Where (to return to our subject) the pretence was so gross and ridiculous, that it is probable we had heard no more of it, had it not been for the delusion of some Christians, who being on the hunt after miracles, caught at the circumstance of the dart's coming from an unknown hand, to make a miracle of the Apostate's death. Henceforward the fable received new vigour; and soon after, a kind of establishment, from the strange indiscretion of Sozomene, who would needs venture to defend the *marabity* of this pretended assassinate: A rashness which did the faithful more dishonour than all the contrivances of Julian against them. And yet, to do justice to every one, the folly, to speak no worse of it, is not to be charged on the *Christian* principles, but on the *Pagan*;

That

THAT the Adversaries of our holy Faith, who were in the neighbourhood of the scene, the followers of *Julian*, and most partial to his views, have confirmed their report. Nay, that the Emperor himself hath confessed the hand which overcame him, though with that disingenuity which characterises the *Sophist* and the *Bigot*, in what party soever they are found.

AND lastly, That the *Fact* was, in its nature, such as least admitted of unfaithful accounts concerning it.

THEN the OBJECTIONS to the Miracle have been considered.

It hath been shewn, that, from the word of PROPHECY, and the course of God's which Sozomene would not suffer his Christianity to correct; For the cutting off a Tyrant was one of the most illustrious of the Pagan virtues; and unhappily our Church-Historian seems to have been struck with the glory attending that achievement.

But this I leave, with *Julian's* other adventures, to my learned friend Mr. *Jortin*; who, I hope, will soon oblige the Public with his curious Dissertations on Ecclesiastical Antiquity; composed, like his life, not in the spirit of *Controversy*, nor, what is still worse, of *Party*, but of *Truth* and *Candor*.

Dispen-

Dispensations, his interposition was even necessary to support the honour of Religion.

THAT the Evidence of the Historian, AM. MARCELLINUS, is so full and perfect in all its parts, that there is not one circumstance in his Character or Testimony, which an Unbeliever could abuse, to keep back his assent; nor any wanting, which a Believer would desire, to prevent a cavil.

THAT the several accounts of the FATHERS of the Church and the Ecclesiastical Historians are not only consistent with, but highly corroborative of, one another: and, that such parts of their relations as appear at first sight most prodigious, are indeed, when maturely examined, the parts which most deserve credit.

THAT it is very unlikely, nay almost impossible, that the Eruption should be the effect of human ART and contrivance.

AND lastly, that it is no less absurd to suppose it a NATURAL event.

THUS new light continually springing up from each circumstance as it passed in review; by such time as the whole was considered



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considered, this illustrious MIRACLE hath come out in one full blaze of evidence. In-  
somuch, that I will venture to affirm, there  
is nothing to be opposed to its force, but  
what must at the same time, destroy the  
credit of all human testimony whatsoever.

WHEN, therefore, the Reader reflects,  
how little this invincible Demonstration for  
our holy Faith hath been hitherto insisted  
on; how slightly it hath been handled;  
and how hastily and slovenly hurried over,  
He will possibly find cause to wonder  
as much, on the one hand, at this strange  
inattention, as on the other, at the unrea-  
sonable credulity of the blind adorers of  
Antiquity. For though it hath ever affect-  
ed the learned and impartial observer with  
the superiority of its evidence, yet no one  
before, that I know of, hath attempted to  
set that superiority in a just light, though  
provoked to it by the insolence of our Ene-  
mies; and, what is still more provoking,  
the indiscretion of our FRIENDS: Some of  
whom have hinted their suspicions in pri-  
vate; and others given more open intima-  
tions of its falshood.

THIS, in part, may be owing to those  
ticklish circumstances in the evidence of the

*Fathers,*

*Fathers*, which, on examination, we have shewn to be its principal support. But what hath chiefly occasioned this neglect, I am persuaded, is the state and condition of the *Ecclesiastical History* of that time; when the light of Miracles was surrounded with such a swarm of Monkish Fables, as was enough to darken the brightest of its rays; and, indeed, nothing, but the force of its divine extraction, could ever have broke through them: For, as if these unhappy Artificers *designed* what they brought to pass, they were not content to counterfeit the hand of God on other common occasions: They would try their skill on *this*, where it had been so eminently displayed; and actually contrived to mimic its most essential and triumphant circumstances. Accordingly, *Church History* informs us, that when *Julian* and his brother *Gallus* projected to build a *Temple* over the Sepulchre of one *St. Mamas*; that part which *Julian* undertook *fell down again* as soon as built; the Saint, it seems, disdaining the Service of the future Apostate. The cloudy Monk, who invented this fable, had, we see, two conceits in his head: he would make *Julian's* offering as unacceptable as *Cain's*; and resolving likewise, he should be an unlucky

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lucky Builder through life, would not give him the skill or privilege of that primitive Out-law. The same *History* again informs us<sup>n</sup>, That once, when *Julian* sacrificed, there was found impressed upon the entrails of the victim, a *Cross within a crown or circle*: for when the Monks had once got the Apostate into their Hands, they treated him as a true Demoniac; and so, plied him with CROSSES, that sovereign Panacea of the Exorcists.

THUS they dressed up their Impostures as like as they could, in garb and fashion, to the Miracles of heavenly extraction; with the Spirit, or, must we say, in *imitation* of those Pagan Priests, who forged their *Ancilia* to secure the SACRED SHIELD which fell from Heaven: As if they had taken it into their heads, that true Miracles, unattended with these Delusions, were in the same danger from the Enemies of the Faith, that the *Palladium* of *Rome* was from Robbers, without a numerous Guard of brazen Counterfeits.

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. Soz. l. v. c. 2.

F I N I S.

P. 89. l. ult. for See hereafter in this Chapter,  
read, See Book II. c. iv. p. 225.





